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ABSTRACT

Junior and senior students from 2 high schools in South Dakota and from 6 high schools in Alaska were studied and compared for leadership potential in their local communities. Some 119 Sioux students and 63 Athapaskan students were interviewed as were principals, guidance counselors, teachers, and area officials (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, and local Indian leaders). In addition, questionnaires were mailed to teachers in the 8 schools under study. The 4 indicators of leadership potential used were leadership aspiration, academic performance, character traits recognizable by peers and teachers, and future plans of students. Sioux students were most often lacking in leadership aspiration, and Athapaskan students lacked leadership plans as reflected by their lack of interest in college or a high-level service occupation. Major recommendations were (1) that Sioux students be exposed to an intensive program of study and guidance to encourage interest and concern for the Pine Ridge Reservation and (2) that Alaskan schools should provide both information about, and support for, college attendance and entry into professional level occupations. (JH)

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THE ROLE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

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SUMMARY

This study examines in depth the school experiences, cultural background and future goals of the Indian high school graduate, focusing particularly on his potential for future leadership of his community or tribe. Characteristics of the student's experience in school and sources of influence at home are related to four indicators of leadership potential: 1) specific aspiration to be a leader; 2) high academic performance; 3) character traits recognized by peers and teachers as indicative of leadership ability; and 4) future plans which include advanced education and/or interest in high level service occupations.

A leadership typology using these four measures designates those students with full potential for leadership and those who deviate from it by only one measure. Case studies are presented in order to indicate factors which appear to be crucial to the development of the four aspects of leadership potential.

The study compares students from two Indian cultures--the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota and the Athapaskans in interior Alaska. Within the two areas high school juniors and seniors were interviewed. In Pine Ridge 119 of the 1967-68 juniors and seniors from the Holy Rosary Mission School and the Oglala Community High School were interviewed. Sixty-three Athapaskan students who were either juniors or seniors at one of six high schools in Alaska were interviewed.

The methods employed for this study were personal interviews of students and questionnaires mailed to the teachers at the eight schools under study. The project directors also conducted interviews with principals, guidance counselors and teachers at the schools as well as with other area officials

such as Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel, Public Health Service personnel and Indian leaders.

Findings: The indicator of leadership potential most often lacking among the Sioux is specific desire to be a leader (aspiration). The fact that only a small percentage (19%) of Sioux students desire to become leaders in their home communities is related to the concern among these students to be upwardly mobile and to derive prestige from their jobs. The reservation offers relatively little in the way of opportunities for economic and social advancement. Therefore many of the Sioux students see no alternative but to leave their homes in order to pursue their personal goals.

Leadership Plans (college and high level service occupations) is the indicator of leadership potential most often lacking among the Athapaskans. Again, the causes are to be found, in part, in the economic system in Alaska which offers occupational opportunities primarily at the semi-skilled and technician levels. Also, there seems to be a failure of the schools to encourage students to pursue college level education apart from specific occupational preparation.

A number of findings about student concern with cultural traditions, academic performance, commitment to education and future plans are presented in the early chapters of the report.

Recommendations: From the study the authors conclude that the schools in Pine Ridge should encourage an interest in and concern with the Reservation among their students through an intensive program of study and guidance. Although the schools cannot alter the economic situation on the reservation, they can be crucial in transforming the attitudes of the students.

Schools in Alaska might encourage their students to attend college and strive for professional level occupations by providing both information about and support for these higher goals.

Suggestions as to how the schools could implement these major recommendations as well as specific ideas for improving secondary education for Indians are included in the conclusion of the report.

INTRODUCTION

In a special message to Congress on March 6, 1968, President Johnson spelled out in detail the present plight of the American Indians. In doing so, he placed particular stress on the problems of Indian education:

- -- Ten per cent of American Indians over age 14 have had no schooling at all.
- -- Nearly 60 per cent have less than an eighth grade education.
- -- Half of our Indian children do not finish high school today.
- -- Even those Indians attending school are plagued by language barriers, by isolation in remote areas, by lack of a tradition of academic achievement.

At the same time, the President emphasized the need for Indian leadership:

> The greatest hope for Indian progress lies in the emergence of Indian leadership and initiative in solving Indian problems. Indians must have a voice in programs which are important to their daily life.
>
> I propose, in short, a policy of maximum choice for the American Indian: a policy expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, self-determination.

The President's message suggests that one method of achieving both Indian self-determination and the end to the paternalistic domination of Indians by the federal government is for Indians to be able to deal with White Men on equal terms and therefore to possess the skills and knowledge most usually acquired through the system of American education.

Yet the white educational system may imbue the Indian with values and motivations which alienate him from his own people. The middle-class American culture espoused in the classroom by a white teacher may differ considerably from the views and aims of his family and members of his tribe.

Instead of encouraging the more able Indian students to assume leadership roles within the Indian community, the schools may encourage their participation in the non-Indian American society, thereby draining off the leadership potential of the Indian community. At the same time, traditional Indian norms may inhibit the potential leader from applying his newly-acquired skills as a member of his native community. The Indian who is successful in the American educational system to the extent of completing his secondary education thus may face considerable conflict in deciding his future goals as an Indian and a member of the broader American society.

In this study we are specifically concerned with these students who have been successful in completing their high school education. There are two complementary reasons for this concern. First, as was stressed above, the Indian tribes are greatly in need of educated leaders. Indians who complete their high school education comprise a great source of potential leadership for the Indian tribes. The effects of education on their plans and goals and the conflicts surrounding the choice of alternatives are important in understanding these successful Indian students in their own right. Many studies on Indian education have discussed in great detail the problems facing Indian students in their efforts to obtain a high school education. There have been studies dealing with the general problems of achievement and learning and studies dealing with such specifics as teaching bilingual students, special material for teaching Indians, lack of motivation and drop-outs. In fact, the works of two groups of researchers -- Ray _et al_. in their study of Alaskan drop-outs and Wax _et al_. in their studies of the Pine Ridge educational system -- provided the take-off point for this particular study.[1]

However, scant attention has been paid to those Indian students who are successful in completing high school. It is these students who are the focus of this study. They have overcome the obstacles which resulted in failure for many of their peers; their achievement raises questions about the consequences of achievement in a system which belongs to a dominant culture and which threatens their own. And from studying them, perhaps we can learn about some of the attributes that lead to educational success among Indian high school students.

In this investigation of the students who have been successful in the academic situation we have several major points of interest which are related to our dominant concern with leadership. First, we look at the background of these students in order to draw a more complete picture of them and to isolate factors which can be used later in the study to determine which of these factors leads to greater success among students who have already achieved more than most of their peers. In the first chapter we also investigate the cultural ties of the students with particular attention to their expressed attitudes towards their own Indian culture. This area is important if we are to understand how education has affected these students. Also, since we are concerned with leadership we want to know what aspects of the culture these students are interested in preserving in the future.

Second, the school experiences and achievements of the students and sources of influence within the school, including attitudes of school staff, will be described. We are particularly interested here in the students' views on education. Studies on members of the lower-class in the United States have shown that, in general, there is a lack of interest in education: children who have initial difficulties are tempted to quit early; students rarely see relevance for their own lives in what they are learning in school. Such has also been an Indian attitude in the past and, in addition, many Indians viewed education as the means by which the White Man could deprive him of his own culture and assimilate him into mainstream America. Thus we want to know whether the present generation of Indian students is committed to education and whether they feel it is important for their goals.

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[1] A discussion of these studies and a general review of the literature related to this report can be found in Appendix D.

Any attempt to plan for the future of Indians in America, be it by the Indians themselves or by other concerned individuals, must take into account the personal goals and aspirations of Indian students. This area is one of our major concerns. We want to know first, what level of occupational aspiration these students hold and what their plans for their own lives are and, second, where the students plan to live in the future, specifically, within or outside their home communities. For the two groups under study the type and consequences of mobility are different, as we will explain in Chapter VI.

Throughout our study of the students we focus on variables which are employed in Chapter VII when we develop a typology of leadership potential. In this typology certain characteristics of students are considered indicative of different aspects of leadership potential. Both case studies of students who appear to have maximum potential for leadership and analyses of the reasons for deviations from this "full" potential are presented, partially in order to suggest where the schools can best maximize the leadership potential of their Indian students. Our concept of leadership potential includes possession of the following qualities: 1) specific aspiration to be a leader; 2) character traits and achievements recognized by peers and authority persons (i.e., teachers) as indicative of leadership ability; 3) future plans which include advanced education and/or interests in high level service occupations.

We began our study with a very broad working definition of leadership which included any person engaged in service to the community and/or any person in a position through which he could exert influence. We intentionally extended our definition of a leader beyond those persons in formally elected leadership positions. This broad definition was based on our assumption that the Indians in America today are badly in need of self-determination in all spheres. They need to have their own people in every position of influence, that is, every position which carries with it influence deriving from its prestige and status. Because such people as teachers, doctors, and social workers all exert influence which has important consequences, if not for large groups of people, for many individual decisions, it is important that these people working with Indians be Indian themselves.

Our working definition of leadership was operationalized in the study in the variable of leadership plans described above. We considered students to have leadership plans if they were pursuing a course which would enable them to serve and/or influence members of their community either through a high level service occupation or because they had the necessary skills (i.e., a college education) to work effectively in a position of influence.

As we shall see in Chapter VII the students often defined leadership more narrowly than we did, i.e., most often considering only those persons in formal leadership positions to be leaders. Therefore the variable of leadership plans reflects our broader definition whereas the variable of student leadership aspiration often reflects a more narrow perspective.

There is one important point about our working definition of leadership which needs clarification. Two years ago when the field work for this project was conducted the idea of Red Power was a relatively new one and one which had surfaced in only a very few Indian areas. The two Indian tribes covered in this study had not been affected: the Athapaskan Indians in Alaska are far separated from mainland Indian concerns and the Sioux, traditionally, have avoided pan-Indian programs. Hence when we went to carry out the field work and to study the development of leadership we were not drawing any distinction among types of leaders. Since 1968 Red Power has burgeoned among Indian groups -- witness the takeover of Alcatraz, Fish-Ins in Washington, etc. And with this growth the distinctions in basic orientation which always existed to some extent among types of Indian leaders have taken on new and more important meanings. However, we want to make it clear that we do not concern ourselves with these distinctions in this study and consider any student possessing the traits described above a potential leader, no matter what the direction his leadership may take in the future.

* * *

Students from two Indian cultures were interviewed for this study -- the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota and the Athapaskans in interior Alaska.

The Pine Ridge Reservation, home of about eleven thousand Oglala Sioux, is located in southwestern South Dakota, over a hundred miles south of Rapid City, the nearest city of any size. It is a country of buttes and rolling hills, barren but often strikingly beautiful. The best of the land is suitable only for grazing, and most of this is used by non-Indian ranchers, lessees of the Indians or of the government. The town of Pine Ridge, the administrative and political center of the reservation, has a population of about 2,800, and there are half a dozen smaller villages dispersed through the reservation, connected by tarred roads. In recent years the population has been moving into these villages, and particularly into the town of Pine Ridge, leaving most of the land area of the reservation uninhabited. The reservation is well off the tourist trail. Except for a week in the summer during the annual Sundance festival, only a handful of Indian enthusiasts visits Pine Ridge each year. Its principal site of historic interest is the battlefield of Wounded Knee, where some 153 Indians were massacred by U.S. troops in 1890, the last major "battle" of the Indian wars.

Athapaskan Indians are the major native ethnic group inhabiting the vast interior of Alaska some 200,000 sq. miles from the Canadian border on the east to the southern flow of the Yukon River on the west, and from the southern side of the Brooks Range south to the Cook Inlet. Much of this land is semi-tundra, marshy, sparsely forested, and without sources of fresh water, thereby restricting human habitation to the banks of the major rivers which flow through relatively heavily forested areas.

Athapaskans in Alaska number approximately 5,000, the majority of whom are residents of village communities scattered along the Yukon, Tanana, and Koyukuk Rivers and their smaller tributaries. Though the traditional work of trapping, fishing, and hunting provide a living for few families, most villagers do still supplement other types of income and work with these activities as well as engaging in them for pleasure.

An increasing number of Athapaskans are migrating to larger villages, small towns and to the cities, particularly Fairbanks, which is located in the heart of interior Alaska. Numerous villagers, especially from the nearer communities, visit or live temporarily in the city during the summer months.

Certain differences between these two cultures make them especially susceptible to comparative study. First, the Sioux were militarily conquered by the Whites and restricted to reservations which have remained under federal control. This federal control originally carried with it the efforts of a conquering people to force the vanquished to accept their morality and their way of life. Although some of the aggressiveness of this enforced assimilation policy has been softened through the years, many observers, both Indian and White, feel that there still exists an attitude of "benevolent paternalism" on the part of the government and its employees who are in direct contact with Indians. This attitude is said to carry with it a commitment to what is considered the superiority of white culture and the easy assumption that Indians will eventually recognize this superiority and give up their traditional ways. In contrast, white dominance over Athapaskans has been extended more gradually and without enforced relocation. Athapaskans are under state jurisdiction with many services (e.g., some schools, public health) provided by the federal government. Athapaskans were never subjected to the enforced assimilation that followed the military conquest of the Sioux and, although they now seem to come under the same attitude of benevolent paternalism from the federal government, this attempt at assimilation has always been relatively mild.

A corollary of the difference in mode of subjugation are different attitudes towards Whites among the two Indian groups. The Sioux had always regarded the White Man as the enemy and long after defeat violently resisted assimilation attempts. Although at present there seems to be more an acceptance of Whites among the Sioux, many still nurse a violent hatred and hold on to their memories of a bitter past. The Athapaskans, on the other hand, have no cause for such animosity toward the Whites and have gradually assimilated many aspects of the latter's way of life without much resistance.

There are important differences between the two tribes in their tribal organization and present contact with Whites. The Sioux essentially live in a circumscribed area under a single jurisdiction. Although many Indians have moved off the reservation, there still is the sense of a single tribe which to some degree is self-governing (always, of course, subject to the control of the BIA) and which comes together periodically, at such occasions as the Sundance. Thus the Sioux maintain a land base which coincides with their sense of themselves as a tribe. The Athapaskans, on the other hand, are scattered throughout interior Alaska and various groups have little contact with each other. There were no strong tribal organizations until the past decade when concern over the problem of Native Land Claims aroused Indians to unite, set up new formal organizations such as the Tanana Chiefs Conference (Na Dene), and to become more politically involved in older groups such as the Alaska Federation of Natives. Efforts have also increased to elect Athapaskans to state political positions.

Although the extent of contact with Whites does vary within both groups (and as was shown above, the type of contact historically has been very different and has had different effects), in general, the Pine Ridge Indians have been exposed more thoroughly to white culture than have the Athapaskans. Large populations of Whites, both on the reservation and in the towns surrounding it, make apparent the distinctions between Indian and White ways of living. Many Athapaskans live primarily in small, isolated villages and may not be exposed to more than a handful of representatives of white society.

An important aspect of this lack of contact is that many Athapaskans, in order to obtain a high school education, have to travel several hundred miles beyond their communities and attend boarding schools or find other living accommodations near a public school. Pine Ridge Indians attend high schools on the reservation, although students living in villages far from the main town do have to board at school.

* * *

Within the two areas, Pine Ridge and Alaska, high school juniors and seniors were interviewed. In Pine Ridge 119 of the 1967-68 juniors and seniors from the Holy Rosary Mission School and the Oglala Community High School were interviewed. Although there are some Pine Ridge Indians who attend school outside of the reservation, they were not included in the survey as we were mainly concerned with the educational experience on the reservation and the decision-making process of those students who were facing their first independent opportunity to leave the reservation.

Sixty-three Athapaskan students who were either juniors or seniors at one of six high schools in Alaska were interviewed. The total number of junior and senior Athapaskan students enrolled at these six schools is approximately 120, and these are the only schools within the state that enroll a significant number of Athapaskan students. Approximately 150 Athapaskan students are juniors or seniors at schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs outside Alaska, but they were not included in the study both because it would have been financially impractical and because the additional variables would have excessively complicated the study. Athapaskan students who had dropped out during the 1967-68 school year were also not included in the study because it was not discovered until late in the interviewing that they had been omitted from the lists of students obtained from the schools.

Although, as we have explained above, we were mainly concerned with students who had successfully completed high school, juniors were included in this study. Because such a small proportion of Indian students graduate from high school (less than 50%) it was necessary to study both grades in order to obtain an adequate sample for generating some statistical distributions. Also, by comparing two grades we had the opportunity to examine more effectively the effects of guidance programs on the formation of students' plans.

* * *

The field work for this study was conducted during the summer of 1968. Each project director went to the area with which she was familiar from previous work. The project directors hired interviewers (often upon the recommendations of community leaders, teachers and the personnel of other agencies). All interviewing in Pine Ridge was carried out by Indians who had been out of high school for at least one year. In Alaska, interviewing was done by both white and native Alaskans.[2] Generally, interviews were carried out under very informal conditions at the respondent's convenience.

The interview itself followed a questionnaire format with slightly different versions for juniors and seniors. (The questionnaires are presented in the Appendix.) Before administering the questionnaire, all interviewers read a statement which identified the interviewer and stated the aims of the study. The questionnaires included a variety of types of questions. Most common were open-end questions which elicited factual information or opinions: e.g., "Who are some people you would consider leaders in your community?" There were also a number of closed-end questions with alternative responses read to the respondent: e.g., "As far as giving a good education is concerned, compared with other schools in the United States, do you think your school is: Better than most, About the same, or Not as good as most?" For some of the longer questions the respondents were given a list (e.g., of ideal occupations) and asked to select from the list on certain criteria. One set of questions presented the respondents with a series of hypothetical situations about which the interviewer asked questions concerning what the student would do if he/she were in the same situation. These questions were designed to verify responses to other questions in the interview and to overcome resistance to asking excessively personal questions.

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[2] The project director in Alaska contracted pneumonia when about half the interviewing had been completed. At this point, Dr. William J. Loyens of the Anthropology Department of the University of Alaska, took over the field work, hiring and training interviewers and traveling to schools to find students.

In both Pine Ridge and Alaska there were problems finding the students who were scattered for the summer. Some seniors had already left for training programs or military service and some students were away from their home communities for other reasons including jobs (especially firefighting), Upward Bound Programs, and visits to relatives. In Alaska, students returning to their small isolated villages could not be contacted. Follow-up questionnaires were mailed to Pine Ridge graduating seniors who had not been reached during the summer. In both Pine Ridge and Alaska the interviewers continued their work for a short time in the fall after school began in order to contact students returning to school. In spite of these efforts, the response rate was frequently quite low, as shown in Table 1. Although it is hard to tell exactly which students were lost to us, our guess is that the group included some of the best students since they were the ones who were likely to be engaged in activities away from their home communities. For instance, two students who had left Pine Ridge for the Peace Corps could not be interviewed.

While in the field, the project directors also obtained information on the actual school performance of the students from school records and in Pine Ridge the project director used these records to check family stability and drop-outs. The project directors also interviewed guidance counselors, teachers, and principals when they were available as well as other area

TABLE 1

Rate of Response from Students and
Teachers in the Eight Schools

	Pine Ridge		Alaska					
	OCS	HRM	Lathrop	Mt. Edgecumbe	Nanana*	Tanana	Copper Valley	Ft. Yukon
Students								
Per cent of juniors interviewed	67%	61%	33%	70%	58%	50%	73%	33%
N =	(70)	(35)	(18)	(20)	(7)	(6)	(11)	(6)
Per cent of seniors interviewed	77	45	19	55	---	100	18	62
N =	(52)	(20)	(21)	(20)		(2)	(11)	(8)
Per cent of total student population interviewed	71	58	26	62	58	62	46	50
N =	(122)	(55)	(39)	(40)	(7)	(8)	(22)	(14)
Teachers								
Per cent of total teacher population responding to the questionnaire	46%	73%	36%	49%	25%	75%	30%	40%
N =	(13)	(11)	(69)	(31)	(8)	(4)	(10)	(5)

*There were no Athapaskan seniors attending Nanana at the time of this study.

officials such as BIA personnel, Public Health Service personnel and Indian leaders.

In addition to the actual work in the field, questionnaires were sent to the teachers of juniors and seniors in the eight schools under study. Although the questionnaire was to be filled in by the respondents rather than administered by an interviewer, in many ways it resembled the student questionnaire and asked a number of parallel questions. For instance, the hypothetical situations were phrased in terms of what the teachers thought the student should do.

As with the student interviews, there were a number of problems. First, the questionnaires were not mailed out until teachers had already left school for their summer vacations, and although follow-up questionnaires were sent several teachers never received them. Other teachers seemed to consider it an infringement on their time to be reminded of school-related problems over the summer. And in areas which had previously been intensively studied (OCS and Mt. Edgecumbe) several teachers responded that they could not be bothered with questionnaires anymore.

* * *

Elisabeth Gemberling and Margaret Nelson directed the study of the Athapaskans and Sioux students, respectively. Each had had prior experience with these groups of Indians. The co-directors are indebted to a number of people for their assistance in this study.

Dr. Sam D. Sieber, a specialist in the Sociology of Education with no particular knowledge of either Indian group, helped to maintain a broader perspective for the study by interjecting impartial observations and suggestions for analysis of the data. Dr. William J. Loyens of the University of Alaska is especially thanked for his supervision of the last half of the Athapaskan interviewing necessitated by the illness of the co-director.

We are very grateful to the interviewers of students in both Pine Ridge and Alaska. We also thank those agencies and individuals who helped us to locate interviewers and students and those persons who granted us interviews and provided us with special information. The latter include principals, guidance counselors, teachers, and other staff of the schools included in the study, leaders in the Indian community, staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, and those friends of the co-directors in both Pine Ridge and Alaska, particularly Mary Moses and family, who helped in innumerable ways. We thank all the students interviewed who gave of their time and knowledge to this study without compensation or other reward.

The contributions of several staff members of the Bureau of Applied Social Research were especially vital to this study: Phyllis Sheridan, Administrator, who has surpassed Penelope in patience; the staff of the machine room, particularly Ray Albury and Fred Meier, who transformed our technical incompetence into endless miles of print-out; the crew in the basement, including Ayele Berhane, Pedro Soto and Alula Hidaru, who carried more than their share of the load; Nelson Glover who accurately deciphered our Jackson Pollack manuscript; and Madeline Simonson without whom, as all Bureau researchers know, nothing would be produced. Due to delay in funding, the survival of the project directors in the field was only made possible by money

from Student Training Funds provided by Columbia University.

Finally, we thank David Wilder for his wise counsel, Sue Jacobs for taking care of little Sam, and Bill.

* * *

CHAPTER I

THE STUDENTS

This first chapter will present a broad picture of the students interviewed for this study by introducing a number of characteristics intended to describe their communities and families as well as the students themselves.

We shall begin with a brief discussion of two characteristics -- degree of Indian blood and type of home community -- which reflect that social-cultural process frequently called assimilation. While the ways in which the identity, attitudes and behavior of these students are shaped by this process are too complex for us to examine closely in this report, blood and type of home community were found to differentiate consistently among students according to a variety of social, cultural and other background variables.

We will then turn to the students' families, introducing several features which appear to have significance for students' school performance, future plans, and leadership potential. These include family structure and stability, and parents' education and employment.

Finally, we examine the involvement and concern of students with the traditions of their people, particularly with respect to the Indian language and to participation in Indian ceremonial dancing.

Measures of Assimilation

Degree of Indian Blood

The students included in this study are identified as "Indian" by the schools in which they were enrolled during the 1967-68 school year. The schools' designations are based on BIA census records or on self-designation in some Alaskan cases. These records classify Indians in terms of degree of Indian blood from 1/8 to 8/8.

The distribution by blood of the two groups within the study is presented in Table I-1. In the remainder of this study we will refer to Full Bloods as those with either 7/8 or 8/8 Indian blood. Mixed Bloods will include anyone with less than this amount of Indian blood. Also, we will use the degree of a student's Indian blood both as an attribute of the student and of his family. Therefore, when it is desirable for purposes of analysis to distinguish families along blood lines, this will be done according to the student's degree of Indian blood. The rationale for this is the fact that a child's degree of blood is derived from the mathematical average of that of his two biological parents.

The degree of Indian blood of an individual results from intermarriage with whites, either recently or in prior generations. The implications of this intermarriage as measured by blood are of two kinds. First, blood determines actual physical appearance: the closer an Indian is to being a Full Blood, the more he will have the physical characteristics associated with his particular tribe. Therefore blood may determine both an individual's self-image and the image of him which is held by others. To the extent that an individual sees himself physically as an Indian, he may think of himself as one. The image held by others may determine the treatment accorded to the individual and so reinforce his own self image. For instance, in situations where there is differential treatment of Indians, the more Indian in appearance an individual is, the more likely he is to be recognized and treated as one. Second, blood generally indicates the presence of white influence on attitudes and behavior, thus determining whether an individual is oriented more toward white or toward Indian values and traditions.[1]

Sioux. Blood is an important factor within the Pine Ridge Reservation community. Political antagonisms are often drawn on blood lines, i.e. Mixed Bloods versus Full Bloods, and the two groups often define each other in uncomplimentary ways. Among Full Bloods, Mixed Bloods have the reputation for being pushy, too eager to get into the white community (often achieved by working for the BIA), and disrespectful of traditional ways of doing things. Conversely, Mixed Bloods may refer to Full Bloods as being backward, slow, and too willing to rely on the government welfare checks.

Having Indian Blood has great significance for those living on the reservation. Since it is the basis of Indian status, it entails a number of financial and other privileges. An Indian with a relatively small degree of Indian blood is quick to identify himself as "Indian" -- perhaps in order that he may retain these advantages, perhaps because he is proud of his Indian heritage. At the same time, a Full Blood may, in casual discourse, deny a

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[1] This white influence may be the direct result of the presence of a white parent; it may also be filtered through several generations of Mixed Bloods.

Mixed Blood true Indian status, reserving the title of "Indian" for those who are Full Bloods.

The distribution by blood for the Sioux students whom we interviewed is given in Table I-1. Table I-2 shows the distribution for the reservation as a whole. As we can see from the comparison with the distribution shown in Table I-1, the student population is heavily skewed in favor of those with less than 8/8 Indian blood. In part this is a result of the different age groups. As one would anticipate, the percentage of Mixed Bloods increases in the younger age groups. The skewed distribution may also indicate that Full Bloods are less oriented toward education than Mixed Bloods and show a greater tendency to drop out of school at an earlier age. In Chapter III we will indicate some of the differences between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods in relation to education.

Athapaskans. Degree of Indian blood appears to be a less significant factor of social and individual identity for Athapaskans than for Sioux. There is some use of the term "half-breed" among Athapaskans, but it is frequently more teasing than seriously pejorative and seems to be used more to discredit a life style considered too non-Indian than the specifically physical fact of mixed blood.

Full Bloods seem to display little special pride in their pure ancestry and heritage, and many Mixed Bloods, particularly those who are less than half Indian, consider it a matter of choice whether or not they wish to consider themselves Indian and what combination of white and Indian modes of life they wish to adopt or maintain.

TABLE I-1

Blood Distribution Among the Sioux and Athapaskan Students Who Were Interviewed

Degree of Indian Blood	Sioux	Athapaskans
0 - 2/8	12%	6%
3/8 - 4/8	24	17
5/8 - 6/8	12	32
7/8	22	---
8/8	24	43
Indian of Another Tribe	3	--
Degree of Blood Not Known	4	2
N =	(119)	(63)

TABLE I-2

Blood Distribution Among Total Pine Ridge Reservation Indian Population (Sioux)*

Degree of Indian Blood**	Per Cent of Total Reservation Indian Population
Mixed Blood***	48.7%
Full Blood	45.6
Indian of Another Tribe	5.6

*From the Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 1 (January 1968), p. 3.

**For these figures, self-identification is the criterion used to determine Mixed Blood-Full Blood status rather than one of blood quantum. Actually, 6.6% of the Full Blood sample population consider themselves to be Full Bloods although they are less than 8/8 Indian blood.

***Mixed Blood in this table refers to Indians with less than 8/8 Indian blood. For purposes of our own analysis we subsequently refer to those with less than 7/8 Indian blood as Mixed Blood.

Home Community and Family Mobility

Home community is a variable based on the question asked of students, "Where do you think of as home?" For both Alaska and Pine Ridge the specific communities named were grouped according to characteristics which are best described as related to the degree of urbanization. Home community was found to be a background factor significantly correlated with a variety of social and cultural attitudes and practices as well as with school-related and leadership variables. Where such relationships suggest explanations or clarify description, they will be specifically discussed. The degree of family mobility was ascertained from two pieces of data: the number of places a student had lived and the location of these places. Among the Sioux family mobility is related to aspiration to leadership.

Athapaskans. The Alaskan communities were divided into three groups: villages, towns, and cities. Characteristics of villages include a population of fewer than 300 people, primarily native; absence of industry; absence of regular transportation routes such as road or rail and only limited air service by "bush pilot"; absence of telephone communication; and relatively great distance from an urban center. The three "towns" are characterized by populations ranging from 300 to 600; the presence of either industry or a military installation; relatively regular transportation facilities; telephone communication; and presence of a school serving grades 1 through 12.[2] The relevant cities are Anchorage and Fairbanks, both with area populations over

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[2] To be more accurate, Nenana should be designated as a small town, Ft. Yukon and Tanana as large villages. Rather than add a cumbersome fourth classification, we have compromised and classified the three communities together as "town."

10,000 and providing the economic and social structures and the service and technical facilities associated with any American city of comparable size.

In terms of factors related to modernization and assimilation, there seems to be a sharper distinction between the city and the towns (larger villages) than between the towns and the smaller villages. Both types of villages differ from the city in their primary social orientation to native residents, opportunity for carrying on a more traditional Indian life style, including semi-subsistence hunting and fishing, greater dependence on dogs for transportation and work, and limited availability of technical facilities and manufactured products.

In the Athapaskan student sample, 49% of the students regard a village as their home, 33% a town and 18% a city, although no student was born in a city. Full Bloods are predominantly from villages while Mixed Bloods are more evenly distributed among the three types of communities (see Table I-3).

TABLE I-3

Distribution of Blood by Home Community
for Athapaskan Students

Type of Home Community	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	62%	37%
Town	26	37
City	12	26
N =	(27)	(35)

A large number of the Athapaskan students (56%) have lived in more than one community. Among the mobile, the frequency of moving is greater for those who consider a small village rather than a town as their home. For example, 28% of those from villages have lived in three or more places whereas only 10% of those from towns have moved this much. Traditional Athapaskans were highly mobile and one might have lived in several different villages during his lifetime. The above data suggests that those who have remained in small villages retain this cultural pattern more than do those who have settled in larger communities.

Although none of the Athapaskan students has lived only in cities (Fairbanks or Anchorage), 43% of them have lived in both cities and villages. The common experience of such a large proportion of Athapaskans in both rural and urban communities, exposed to both traditional and modern life styles, is a striking aspect of the assimilation pattern of these people.

Sioux. The places of residence on the Pine Ridge Reservation were divided into two categories: the town of Pine Ridge proper and all other villages or districts. The Pine Ridge Reservation is divided into seven political districts for the purpose of electing the Tribal Council. Each of the districts encompasses several small communities and one or two central villages. These villages generally consist of small groupings of houses, a BIA elementary school, a community center, several churches, and a general store which serves as a post office and gas station as well. The villages vary in size: the largest, Wanblee, has a population of 742; the smallest of them, Allen, has a population of 346[3] (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin,

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[3] These figures are based on respondent perception of the community location of his or her household and thus may include families who live several miles from the Village itself.

December 1968: 6). The Village populations are predominately Full Blood (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, December 1968: 3). There is a certain uniformity among all of these villages and they differ greatly from the central reservation town of Pine Ridge (which will be discussed further below). Unfortunately, our method of classifying the homes of the students was by district rather than by a village, small community or rural location within a specific district. Hence the distinction between actually living in or near a village or in the outlying area is lost.[4] However, the distinction between living in one of the smaller villages or in a rural area and living in the town of Pine Ridge has been maintained.

The town of Pine Ridge is the administrative and social center of the reservation. The Oglala Community School and a public elementary school are located there (Holy Rosary Mission is five miles outside of town) as are the offices of the Tribal Council, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the tribal court and jail, the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters and the Public Health Services Hospital. The town also has a motel, a laundromat, a large modern supermarket (as well as a number of smaller stores) and other essential services. The population of the town of Pine Ridge is considerably different from the population of the other areas of the reservation. There are many more Whites living there than any other place on the reservation and the Indian population is composed largely of Mixed Bloods rather than of Full Bloods.

In terms of modernization there are not great differences between living in the town of Pine Ridge or in another area of the reservation:

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[4] This distinction relates to blood for the total population. Mixed Bloods are predominately town or village dwellers while the Full Bloods are more likely to live outside of the villages, either in isolated houses or in rural clusters (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, December 1968: 4).

running water and electricity may or may not be available in either place. However, there are differences in the factors related to assimilation. There are more employment opportunities in the town in terms of both number and type of jobs. Also, as a result of the differences in population discussed above, there is a strong tendency for people living outside of town to carry on a more traditional Indian style of life.

Among the Pine Ridge Reservation students whom we interviewed, 47% consider the town of Pine Ridge their home while 48% named either a village or a rural location on the reservation. The remaining 5% consider a place off the reservation as their home. The location of a person's home is highly related to blood among the Sioux and is, in fact, probably the major determinant of it. As Table I-4 shows, the Full Bloods are more likely to live in the rural villages than in the town of Pine Ridge.

TABLE I-4

Distribution of Blood by Home Community for Sioux Students

Type of Home Community	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	28%	25%
Town	72	75
N =	(54)	(53)

Sioux families, like the Athapaskan families are relatively mobile both in terms of the number of places they have lived and the location of these places. About a third of the students (35%) said that they had lived in only one place, but almost half (47%) said that they had lived in three or more places. Much of this mobility involves movement off the reservation. Half of the Pine Ridge students have lived off the reservation at one time in their lives and half of these students have lived as far as 200 miles away from the reservation. This mobility may reflect the efforts of parents to find jobs away from the reservation through Employment Assistance programs.

There is more mobility among Mixed Bloods than among Full Bloods. This may be because Mixed Bloods are more likely to feel that they can be successful off the reservation and therefore may attempt to live away for some time. There is also more mobility among those who live in town than among those who live in villages. In part this reflects the recent migration on the reservation from the smaller villages to the town of Pine Ridge. The town of Pine Ridge has rapidly increased in size recently and many of the people now living there have moved from one of the smaller villages.

The Family: Structure, Stability and Size

Responses to a question in the interview asking "Have you always lived with the same parents?" are used to determine family stability. Thus family stability is here defined from the student's point of view. That is, if the student has always lived with the same parents (usually biological mother and father) the family is considered stable although there may have been family disruption prior to the student's birth. An "unstable" family is one in which both parents have not always been present in the home, whether the result of death, divorce or separation.

Among both Indian groups there is considerable deviation from the white middle-class family structure. Family instability is seen in this study to be a factor related to achievement in school and level of aspiration.

Athapaskans. Among the Athapaskans, the "modern" family unit or household is typically a man, a wife, and their children, rather than the extended family, though close ties with secondary relatives and the form of the traditional nomenclature persist. However, high rates of marital break-up, illegitimacy, adoption, and common-law unions complicate the picture of family structure. Various statistics suggest that a stable nuclear family is typical for perhaps 50% of the household units in Athapaskan villages, though the range of variation is probably great, depending on size, remoteness, and specific social patterns of the villages.

In response to our question, "Have you always lived with the same parents?" 66% of the Athapaskan students replied that they had. This figure, somewhat higher than expected, undoubtedly underestimates certain types of family irregularities.[5] Table I-5 indicates the types of irregular family situations described by those students who reported that they had not always lived with the same parents.

The stability of families is significantly lower among Mixed Bloods living in small villages than among any other blood-home group (46% versus 71-77%), suggesting that a discrepancy between physical and social assimilation may create problems of social adjustment (see Table I-6).

The size of the Athapaskan family is exceptionally large. No student in the study had fewer than two siblings and half had six or more, making seven the average number of children in a family. (One quarter of the

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[5] No statistics from schools were obtained to verify the "stability" of families. It is quite likely that irregularities such as the death of one parent, divorce or separation without remarriage might not have been considered irregular by the respondent. Students who acquired a step-parent early in their lives may also consider him (her) a natural parent.

Athapaskan students interviewed are the oldest child in their families and 10% are the youngest.)

TABLE I-5

Distribution of Athapaskan Students Not Living with Both Biological Parents Among Different Types of Family Situations

Per Cent of Students Not Living with Both Parents	Types of Family Situations
42%	Lives with Foster Parents*
25	Lives with Mother (alone, with step-father or with other relatives)
20	Lives with Father (alone, with step-mother or with other relatives)
8	Lives with Grandparents
4	Other (lives with other relatives, friends, etc.)
(24)	

*Formal or Informal Adoption or "giving children away" has always been common among Athapaskans. Illegitimacy, illness, parents' separation or death, and infertility all contribute to the high number of Athapaskan children living with "foster" parents.

TABLE I-6

Athapaskan Family Stability by Blood and Home*

	Per Cent of Students from Stable Families	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
Type of Home Community	Mixed	Full
Village	46% (13)	71% (18)
Town	77% (13)	71% (7)

*Students from cities are frequently omitted in tables where type of community is a variable because the numbers are too small.

Sioux. Total population data for the Pine Ridge Reservation indicate that the most prevalent type of Indian family living there is the complete nuclear family comprised of a couple, or a couple with their children (58.4% of the total population). Incomplete nuclear families make up 31.6% of the population with 29.8% of the matrifocal and 3.8% of the patrifocal type (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, January 1968: 7). There is also a great diversity of household types among the Indian population on the reservation although a complete nuclear family living alone is the prevalent type (ibid., January 1968: 7). As is true among the Athapaskans, there is a great deal of family instability, best illustrated by the fact that of 3,970 Indian children under the age of sixteen, only 65% are living with both biological parents (ibid., January, 1968: 8). This figure for the total population under sixteen is very close to the figure of 61% representing those students included in the study who said that they had always lived with the same parents. The students who have not always lived with the same parents are divided into several types of family situations, shown in Table I-7.

TABLE I-7

Distribution of Sioux Students Not Living with
Both Biological Parents Among Different
Types of Family Situations

Per Cent of Students Not Living with Both Parents	Types of Family Situations
50%	Lives with Mother (alone, with step-father or with other relatives)
11	Lives with Father (alone, with step-mother or with other relatives)
20	Lives with Grandparents
19	Other (lives with foster parents, other relatives, friends, etc.)
(46)	

Among the Sioux students interviewed for this study, family instability was not found to be related to degree of Indian blood or to location of home.[6]

The families of the students interviewed in Pine Ridge are somewhat smaller than those of the Athapaskan students. Thirty-seven per cent of the Sioux students, compared with 50% of the Athapaskan students, had six or more siblings and 19% had two or fewer. (One-fifth of the Sioux students are the oldest in their families and 14% are the youngest.) Our data show no consistent relationship between family size and degree of Indian blood.

Education of Parents

There are significant differences between the two Indian groups in the education level of the parents, although in neither case is it common for the parents to have completed high school. Among the Sioux parental education is a factor related to the students' school performance.

Athapaskans. A majority of native Alaskan children had no opportunity to attend high school prior to 1966. At the time when the parents of our respondents were growing up, elementary school education was also unavailable in many areas, particularly in the smaller villages. Consequently, the average level of education of Athapaskans is extremely low, as indicated by 1960 census figure of less than 4 years.[7] Athapaskan students in this study reported their parents' education as shown in Table I-8.

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[6] Total population data indicate that 67.4% of the Mixed Blood children are living with both biological parents in comparison with 61.7% of the Full Blood children, and that there are some differences in rates of instability by district of residence which are not due to the blood relationship. (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, January 1968: 7.)

[7] Figures for education level of non-white population in predominantly Athapaskan districts range from 2.5 to 3.7 years.

TABLE I-8

Highest Level of Education Completed
by Athapaskan Parents

Highest Level of Education	Mothers	Fathers
No Formal Education	10%	6%
Some Grade School	49	59
Finished Grade School	23	21
Some High School	8	6
Finished High School	10	6
Equivalency or Vocational Training	---	2
Vocational Training Beyond High School	---	---
College (Any Amount)	---	---
N =	(51)	(49)

When these figures are correlated with blood and home community of the students, it is found that the parents of Mixed Blood students who call a town their home are likely to have more education than other groups (see Table I-9). It is not possible to tell from this table whether the more important variable is blood or home community. However, there is some basis for assuming that the controlling factor is the community. We may assume that many of the parents of Full Bloods were reared in small villages where education was unavailable, whereas more of the parents of Mixed Bloods were reared in the larger village-towns which possessed both more white and Mixed Blood populations and schools. The relationship between blood and level of education is thus a result of the relationship of each of these factors to the type of community.

TABLE I-9

Athapaskan Parents' Education by Blood and Type of Home Community

Type of Home Community	Per Cent of Mothers Who Completed Grade School	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	27% (11)	27% (15)
Town	73% (11)	20% (5)

Type of Home Community	Per Cent of Fathers Who Completed Grade School	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	25% (12)	20% (15)
Town	55% (11)	-- (4)

Sioux. Education has been available in Pine Ridge since the reservation was established. As a result, in general, the Sioux are more highly educated than are the Athapaskans, with a median number of years of school completed reported to be 8.8 (Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, January 1968: 5). This difference in the general population is reflected in this study. The parents of Sioux students interviewed have more education than do the Athapaskan parents. Although most of the parents have not completed high school, many have graduated from grade school and have had some high school education (see Table I-10).

TABLE I-10

Highest Level of Education
Completed by Sioux Parents

Highest Level of Education	Mothers	Fathers
No Formal Education	--	--
Some Grade School	18%	26%
Finished Grade School	21	19
Some High School	38	32
Finished High School	9	12
Equivalency or Vocational Training	2	1
Vocational Training Beyond High School	6	7
College (Any Amount)	5	2
N =	(110)	(99)

Among the Sioux, both mother's and father's education are related to degree of Indian blood. On the whole, Mixed Bloods have had more education than Full Bloods (see Table I-11). The disparity between the two groups is probably a result of different cultural attitudes toward education as well as varying difficulties encountered by the two groups in their academic work and in attendance. Thus, Full Bloods would be more likely to have problems understanding lessons taught in English and more likely to live far away from the schools.

TABLE I-11

Sioux Parents' Education by
Degree of Indian Blood

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Degree of Indian Blood		Degree of Indian Blood	
Education Level	Mixed	Full	Mixed	Full
Less than Grade School	6%	46%	4%	35%
Grade School and Some High School	60	44	64	56
Finished High School	34	10	32	9
N =	(46)	(48)	(51)	(52)

Employment of Parents

In both groups unemployment among parents is very high. Most Indian students interviewed have grown up in families where the parents were not regularly employed. This condition appears to color many of the students' attitudes toward their own future plans and goals.

Athapaskans. Most of the parents of Athapaskan students are not currently employed in steady jobs. Though it is common for Athapaskan men of all ages to be employed for a few days up to several weeks each summer as fire fighters, only 43% of those fathers for whom students provided employment information held what could be called regular jobs. Even much of this employment is seasonal, in such industries as mining, canning and construction or as riverboat crewmen. Nearly all jobs are in either unskilled or operative categories, the most common ones being construction machinery operators and maintenance men (generally in connection with the BIA hospitals or schools). A slightly higher proportion of the mothers than of the fathers are employed (50%). The most common jobs are as cooks and in laundry work, frequently in the schools or hospitals.

Employment is related in varying degrees to blood and home community, and to amount of education of the parents. Both mothers and fathers of students whose home is a town are more likely to be employed than those living in a village. When blood is introduced as a third variable, however, the picture is more focussed. In villages, fathers of Full Bloods are much more likely than fathers of Mixed Bloods to be employed; whereas in towns, fathers of Mixed Bloods are much more likely than fathers of Full Bloods to have jobs (see Table I-12). Surprisingly enough, employment of fathers is not related to education, which suggests that there may be discrimination by blood in hiring in the towns (see Table I-13). The picture is somewhat different for the mothers of the students. In both villages and towns, Full Blood mothers are more likely than mothers of Mixed Bloods to be employed (see Table I-12). Education is also highly related to employment (see Table I-13). Any explanation is complex and tentative, but some possible explanations are that more Full Blood mothers need the extra income since their husbands are not employed, that the jobs available are looked down upon by Mixed Blood mothers, or that Full Bloods with education are more likely to develop a positive attitude toward work as a result of their education.

TABLE I-12

Athapaskan Parental Employment by Blood and Home

Type of Home Community	Per Cent of Fathers Employed	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	36% (11)	65% (17)
Town	83% (12)	57% (7)

Type of Home Community	Per Cent of Mothers Employed	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Village	8% (12)	20% (15)
Town	50% (12)	71% (7)

TABLE I-13

Athapaskan Parental Employment by Education

Level of Education	Fathers Employed			Mothers Employed		
	Yes	No	N	Yes	No	N
Less than Grade School	68%	32	(31)	22%	78	(27)
Grade School and Some High School	47%	53	(15)	53%	47	(17)
Finished High School	67%	33	(3)	80%	20	(5)

Sioux. Unemployment is one of the major problems on the Pine Ridge Reservation and the severity of this problem is reflected in the occupational history of the parents of interviewed students. Only 45% of the students reported that their fathers (or the male head of the household) are both presently working and living with the family. (Another 8% reported that their fathers are employed but are not presently living at home.) Of the fathers working, over half are employed in some capacity by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in positions ranging from head of a branch of the Bureau to janitor or bus driver for the BIA school system. Several of the occupations held by the fathers involve only part-time work. Seven students reported that their fathers do ranch work some of which is on a seasonal basis. Several other students reported that their fathers are tribal lawyers, a position which is neither full-time nor particularly remunerative. Other frequently mentioned occupations were carpenter and construction worker.

A somewhat smaller percentage of students' mothers than fathers are working. Approximately 40% of the mothers are employed in positions ranging from teacher to baby sitter. Occupations which were frequently mentioned included work at the Pine Ridge Moccasin Factory, cook at one of the schools, the hospital or the jail, and clerical positions in BIA offices. Several of the mothers have part-time positions as "aides" either in the hospital or the school system. As was true of the fathers, the largest single employer of students' mothers is the BIA.

Among the Sioux, for both parents, employment is related to the amount of education an individual has completed (see Table I-14). The relationship between education and employment is stronger for mothers than for fathers, however. This may indicate that there are more unskilled jobs available for males than for females on the reservation.

TABLE I-14

Sioux Parental Employment by Education

Level of Education	Fathers Employed Yes	No	N	Mothers Employed Yes	No	N
Less than Grade School	10%	90	(21)	24%	76	(25)
Grade School and Some High School	34%	66	(62)	50%	50	(48)
High School	76%	24	(21)	62%	38	(21)

Employment is also related to degree of Indian blood for both Sioux parents. Mixed Blood families are far more likely than Full Blood families to have either the mother or father working (see Table I-15). The differences in employment between the Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods cannot be accounted for entirely by differences in educational level. Mixed Bloods of both sexes are far more likely to be employed than Full Bloods at the same education level (see Table I-16). Whether these differences are the result of discriminatory hiring practices or different attitudes towards employment between the Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods cannot be determined from our data.

TABLE I-15

Sioux Parental Employment by Blood

	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Father Employed:		
Yes	62%	24%
No	38	76
N =	(56)	(55)
Mother Employed:		
Yes	57%	18%
No	43	82
N =	(56)	(56)

TABLE I-16

Sioux Parental Employment by Blood and Education Level

	Per Cent of Fathers Employed			
	Degree of Indian Blood			
Education Level	Mixed		Full	
Less than Grade School	67%	(3)	18%	(22)
Grade School and Some High School	59%	(27)	38%	(21)
Finished High School	81%	(16)	--	(5)

	Per Cent of Mothers Employed			
	Degree of Indian Blood			
Education Level	Mixed		Full	
Less than Grade School	--	(2)	11%	(19)
Grade School and Some High School	52%	(33)	14%	(29)
Finished High School	76%	(17)	75%	(4)

* * *

As we have seen in the preceding sections, there are many similarities in the overall situations of the families of the Sioux and Athapaskan students. In both groups one finds large families, a great deal of family instability and high rates of residential mobility. Also, both Pine Ridge Sioux and Alaskan Athapaskan communities are marked by low education levels among the parent generation (although the level is somewhat higher among the Sioux) and low rates of employment. In general the picture is one of a life style far removed from that of the model American middle class family. As we shall see in Chapter V, the students are well aware of these differences and this awareness helps to set the level of their own aspirations.

It is when we look at the influence of the assimilation factors, blood and home, that the sharp differences between the two tribes emerge. Among the Sioux, blood is a significant factor in educational level, employment and mobility. Since blood also determines where an individual lives, the location of the home itself seems to have almost no independent effect on these relationships. Assimilation, therefore, seems to follow blood lines: the more white blood an individual has, the more he approaches white standards of living.

Blood and home community operate more independently among the Athapaskans. The biological amalgamation of native people in Alaska appears to be a less singular factor in determining social and cultural assimilation. The geography and racial composition of the State create a culture in which there is much less homogeneity of life style and values, and much more isolation of individual communities from each other. This situation allows different life styles to be characteristic of some communities (small villages), to exist in segregated form in others (cities), and to be mixed in various ways in still others (larger villages, towns). Blood is to some extent correlated with type of community, but the relationship between the two characteristics does not always operate in the same direction with regard to a third characteristic. In some cases, such as parents' education, the two characteristics reinforce each other; in others, such as parental employment, congruency between blood and home gives one result, whereas incongruency (the "misfits") gives another; and occasionally the relationships are even more complex. Some further illustrations of the operation of these two variables will be seen in the next section.

Cultural Participation and Identity

Having investigated the social, educational and economic background of the families of the students, we now turn to a number of basic questions involving cultural and social behavior and values of the students. We want to know how actively the students participate in Indian culture, and what factors account for the differences among the students with respect to participation. We also want to know how the students feel about their Indianness, that is, do they think that the culture should be preserved, and do they want to participate actively in its preservation?

Data on parents' participation in language and traditional activities will also be introduced, and where relevant, compared with parallel data on the students in order to present a more complete picture of the transmission of cultural traditions in these groups. The primary focus, however, is on the students rather than on the family patterns.

We will first look at the degree of participation among the two tribes in two different aspects of culture -- speaking the native language and taking part in the traditional dances and ceremonies. These two aspects of culture operate in different ways and serve different functions. Use of the native language is gradually dying out in both tribes (as we shall see below). The practice of dancing has a different history. In both tribes traditional dancing ceased for some time after contact with the Whites. Among the Sioux, the break was abrupt -- they were forbidden by the U.S. Government to perform the Sun Dance, their major ceremony, between 1886 and 1930. Thus these dances and ceremonies today represent a reconstruction of the culture among the tribe, perhaps for the purpose of self-identity, and affirmation of traditional values. In Alaska, dancing has been discontinued in some villages for a generation or more, although it has been vigorously maintained in others, resulting in varying opportunities for students to learn and participate in the activity.

Indian Language

The two Indian groups differ significantly in the degree to which the traditional native Indian language has been retained. In both groups, however, English is frequently learned as a second language or from parents whose knowledge of English is minimal. In addition, for both groups, knowledge of the native language is highly related to the assimilation variables of blood and home community.

Athapaskans. For the current adolescent generation of Athapaskans, Indian has been almost entirely replaced by English as the primary tongue, although it is still commonly spoken in some villages by older people and at ceremonies. Half of the Athapaskan students interviewed said that they could not understand the Indian language of their communities. Approximately 25% said that they could understand and speak a little, while fewer than 15% replied that they could actually speak Indian. Most of those who do speak Indian do so only with certain relatives and on an irregular basis.

Four-fifths of the students have at least one parent who speaks Indian, which indicates that with this generation there has been a dramatic decline in the perpetuation of this cultural tradition. (In the next section we will discuss the question of perpetuation to the next generation.) Students are more likely to speak Indian if both their parents do. Where both parents speak Indian, 32% of the students speak it; where one or neither parent speaks Indian, only 20% of the students speak it.

Less expected is the relationship between blood, community and speaking Indian. On the whole, Full Bloods appear somewhat more likely to speak Indian than Mixed Bloods (55% versus 33%), but Mixed Bloods are more likely than Full Bloods to speak the language if they live in villages and much less likely if they live in towns (see Table I-17).

Although most Athapaskan students speak English as their first language, it should not be assumed that they do not have difficulty learning or using English in school. We do not have direct evidence of the extent of language difficulties among the Athapaskans, but the English spoken by most Athapaskans is a distinctive dialect which could be expected to create problems for use of standard English similar to those faced by many Black students.

TABLE I-17

Athapaskan Students Who Speak
Indian by Blood and Home

Type of Home Community	Per Cent of Students Speaking Indian Degree of Indian Blood Mixed	 Full
Village	67% (12)	50% (18)
Town	23% (13)	58% (7)

Sioux. On the reservation, the Indian language, Lakota, remains for many of the Sioux the everyday language and is frequently used during ceremonial occasions such as the Sundance and the powwows. The use of the Indian language is much more common among the Sioux than among the Athapaskans. This is indicated primarily by the figures for the student population rather than those for the parents. Approximately the same per cent of Sioux and Athapaskan students reported that at least one of their parents spoke Indian (87% versus 80%). However, many more Sioux students stated that they themselves could speak the language than did Athapaskan students, suggesting that cultural assimilation in terms of native language is preceding at a less rapid rate among the Sioux. Forty-five per cent of the Sioux students, compared with only 15% of the Athapaskan students said that they could speak the Indian language. Another 4% of the Sioux students said that they understood or spoke a little (most Athapaskan students fall into this last category of language use).

As with the Athapaskan students, whether or not a Sioux student speaks Indian is related to whether his parents speak the language. Sixty per cent of those students who have both parents speaking the native language have learned it, as opposed to 5% of those students with only one or neither parent speaking Indian. This transmission from one generation to the next is strongly influenced by blood. Full Blood children are more likely to learn the language than are Mixed Bloods, even when both parents know how to speak it (86% versus 39%). Thus the relationship between blood and speaking Indian which exists among the parents is even stronger among the students: eighty per cent of the Full Blood students speak Indian; only 14% of the Mixed Blood students know the language (see Table I-18).

TABLE I-18

Speaking Indian Among Sioux Parents and Students by Blood

	Degree of Indian Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Per Cent of Parents Who Speak	77% (56)	97% (63)
Per Cent of Students Who Speak	14% (56)	80% (55)

The location of the student's home also has some effect on whether or not he will learn to speak Indian, though blood is far more important. Students living in the villages where Indian is more commonly spoken are more likely to learn it than are students living in Pine Ridge. This is true of both Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods, although the relationship is stronger for the former (see Table I-19).

TABLE I-19

Sioux Students Who Speak Indian
by Blood and Home

	Per Cent of Students Speaking Indian	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
Type of Home Community	Mixed	Full
Village	20% (15)	85% (40)
Town	13% (39)	62% (13)

As is true with the Athapaskans, many Sioux learn to speak English from parents who speak the language poorly themselves and some learn it only as a second language, i.e. from people other than their parents. Although only two students (among those who speak Indian) said that they had trouble understanding school assignments taught in English, a total of 12 students, or 23% of those who speak Indian, said that they would have understood better if Indian had been used. As we shall see below in Chapter III, students who speak only Indian at home perform less well in school than those who come from homes where some English is spoken by the parents.

Participation in Traditional Activities

Although Indians in America have lost much of their traditional style of life, participating in Indian dances remains an important cultural and emotional link to the past. As was true with speaking the native language, participation in traditional activities is frequently related to other measures of assimilation.

Athapaskans. For the Athapaskans, dancing and singing at Potlatch was considered the best indicator of active involvement in cultural traditions. Before contact with whites, some groups of Athapaskans were probably more noted than others for their dancing. Even today dancing is practiced much more in some villages than in others, reflecting perhaps both traditional differences and current alternative responses to concern with the disappearance of traditional ways.

The Athapaskan students who responded to the question, "Do you participate in dancing and singing at Potlatch," were almost evenly divided with 49% responding affirmatively. Students who state that their parents do participate are more likely to participate themselves than are those whose parents do not dance (55% versus 36%).

The pattern of participation related to blood and home community indicates that Full Bloods are no more likely than Mixed Bloods to participate, and village residents are only slightly more likely than town residents to participate. Relating both variables simultaneously, however, we see that it is those who are social-cultural misfits -- the Mixed Bloods in villages and Full Bloods in towns -- who are more likely to participate (see Table I-20). Perhaps the former group is trying to be accepted by the majority while the latter is trying to preserve its minority culture.

TABLE I-20

Participation in Traditional Activities Among Athapaskan Students by Blood and Home

	Per Cent of Students Who Participate	
	Degree of Indian Blood	
Type of Home Community	Mixed	Full
Village	67% (12)	40% (15)
Town	25% (12)	71% (7)

Sioux. Among the Sioux, the Sundance and the powwows have lost most of their traditional meaning and now serve mainly as social events, occasions for people to get together and talk. During the summer particularly, when each village holds at least one dance, or powwow, these festivities are heavily attended. Families set up refreshment stands on the dance grounds, a travelling carnival makes its appearance complete with rides and novelty items for sale, and on the main day (the festivities usually last from Friday night until Sunday night) there is a barbecue and free food. During the week of the Sundance in August almost all other activity on the reservation ceases as many families move into tents on the dance grounds for the entire period.

Heavy attendance at these festivities, however, does not mean heavy participation in dancing and singing. Only 21% of the students interviewed said that they dance, a figure which is lower than that of the 36% of their parents who are said to participate. The smaller percentage may reflect either a loss of interest in this generation or the fact that adolescence is not a time of participation in these activities. As one might expect, student participation is related to parent participation (35% versus 14%) and to Full Blood status (27% Full Bloods versus 14% Mixed Bloods). Home community is not a significant factor for student participation in dancing. The Full Blood students are more likely to dance than are the Mixed Blood students no matter where they live.

Concern with Continuation of Culture

In the preceding section, we investigated the extent to which Indian students actually participate in some of those activities which separate Indians from other Americans. In this section we will discuss the students' attitudes toward the Indian culture and their feelings about the importance of perpetuating it.

It is important to examine this issue separately because participation in a culture does not necessarily imply a commitment to the *perpetuation* of the culture. An individual may reap certain personal benefits from participation without being concerned about the life of the culture as a total complex. Also, participation may simply be *enforced* by lack of alternative avenues of behavior. Nor does a low level of participation necessarily imply an equally low level of commitment, for there may be commitment to the idea of perpetuation. The commitment may exist on a more abstract plane, as a moral feeling that perpetuation of the Indian culture is a valuable ideal. At the same time, in the everyday life of the students there may be explanations for low participation. As we shall see below, in some cases commitment exceeds *opportunity* for participation. Also, it is possible that for many of the students there is a conflict between what they feel should be and the demands and attractions of peer group activities and other aspirations.

Traditional Activities

Among the Athapaskans, 70% of the students state that they would encourage their own children to participate in traditional activities such as dancing and singing at Potlatches. This figure is considerably higher than the 49% who take part in these activities themselves. When students were asked why they do not participate, most said that they didn't know how rather than that they were not interested or didn't want to. These responses suggest that non-participation is the result of lack of opportunity rather than lack of concern.

As already noted, a smaller percentage of the Sioux students (21%) said that they took part in traditional activities. Student responses to why they did not participate followed a similar pattern to those of the Athapaskan students. Almost half of the students said that they didn't know how or that they lacked the opportunity and/or equipment. (Among the Sioux, the men get elaborately dressed in feathers etc., and the women rarely dance without a shawl and moccasins.) Only 20% of those students who do not participate said that it was because they weren't interested in these activities.

As was true with the Athapaskans, the interpretation that lack of participation does not always reflect lack of interest is confirmed by the number of students who said that they would encourage their children to participate. A slightly smaller percentage of Sioux than Athapaskan students responded that they would like their children to take part in traditional activities. Sixty per cent said that they definitely would, and another 21% were ambivalent, saying that they did not know whether they would encourage their children or not. The sixteen students who said that they would definitely not encourage their children to take part gave a variety of reasons for their negative answer. Almost half of them said that they would let their children make up their own minds, several others said that they didn't know anything about these activities themselves, while still others said it depended on whom they married and where they lived. The remainder, in some way or another expressed their distaste for these activities: e.g., "A waste of time;" "Better things to teach them -- to live like the White Man;" "Really don't care for that stuff;" "It's not good for them."

Teach Child Indian Language

Another question that tapped students' concern with the perpetuation of Indian culture asked whether they would teach their children the Indian language. In Alaska all students were asked this question: for those who did not themselves know the language the question was phrased hypothetically: "If you knew how to speak Indian, would you teach your children to speak it?" Of those Athapaskan students who responded, 72% said that they would like their children to learn Indian. These students, then, strongly feel that this aspect of the culture should be perpetuated. (Only Sioux students who actually know how to speak Indian were asked whether they would teach their children the language. Approximately 80% of these students responded affirmatively, expressing their desire to see the language live.) In short, once again we find evidence of a high degree of commitment to the preservation of Indian culture.

Believe More Culture Should Be Taught in School

In another question students were asked "Do you think Indian students should be taught more about their own people in high school?" Here the attempt was to tap the extent of the students' commitment to perpetuating knowledge about their Indian past. Among the Athapaskans 75% of the students replied positively. Those who did not feel that Indian culture was an important area to be covered in high school were asked why not. Several factors can be detected in the explanations: whether or not it is desirable to know more about one's own people; the extent to which this knowledge can be satisfactorily obtained outside the school; and whether time should be taken away from more strictly academic or vocational courses for this subject. Some students' responses indicate that they do not view "knowledge of their own people" as part of the equipment needed for dealing with present or future problems either as individuals or as members of their communities. An additional underlying theme in many of these explanations is a desire not to be treated separately or to separate themselves from students of other backgrounds. One student said, "School is not the place to learn about your own people, because it separates you from the rest," and others asserted that such culture courses should be open to everyone and not just for one group.

Approximately the same percentage of Sioux students responded affirmatively to the question about Indian culture as an academic subject. Seventy-eight per cent thought that more should be taught in the high school, 18% disagreed, and the remainder gave other answers including, "it doesn't matter" and "I don't know." The reasons given by those 21% of the students who did not feel that more should be taught about Indians in the school were also similar to many given by the Athapaskan students. About half of the students asserted that students already are or should be competent in this type of information. Most of the remainder clearly felt that this material was no longer relevant, responding with answers like, "When they get out they should know about other people," "have to live in the White world."

* * *

As we have seen above, Sioux and Athapaskan students are equally concerned with the perpetuation of their Indian cultures. In both groups there seems to be a strong belief that there is something of value in their traditions; and although the present adolescent generation may not always choose to participate in these traditions themselves, they are almost unanimous in their belief that perpetuation is a valuable ideal.

Conclusion

We have now seen that both groups of students interviewed for this study come from families and communities which are far removed from the standard American middle class. Furthermore, we have seen that in some aspects they are uniquely Indian and are concerned about maintaining the Indian identity of their own people. We observe here the groundwork for a conflict in the students between wanting to make their life styles approach that of the white middle class and preserving that which identifies them as Indians. For the Sioux this conflict is intensified because the reservation allows for preservation of Indian identity but does not have the economic resources to allow fulfillment of economic aspirations. The Athapaskans have greater possibilities of economic and social assimilation, yet are in conflict about leaving the traditional way of life of their village communities for the opportunities in urban settings.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHOOLS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON STUDENTS' CULTURAL ATTITUDES

Having described the students and their families we now turn to a description of the schools attended by students interviewed. First for Pine Ridge, and then for Alaska, we give a general picture of the educational systems and then specific descriptions of the schools attended by the students who were interviewed. Some basic factual information on the eight schools, two in Pine Ridge and six in Alaska, is presented in Table II-1.

The last part of this chapter is an investigation of the effects of the two Pine Ridge schools on the attitudes toward Indian culture of the students attending these schools. A similar analysis was not carried out for the effects of the Alaskan schools on Athapaskan students because of the large number of schools and the widely varying numbers of respondents, making it difficult to control for relevant variables. In addition, one of the major questions used to determine attitudes of school staff was not appropriate to the Alaskan situation.

Schools Attended by Sioux Students

Educational Systems on the Reservation

There are three educational systems on the Pine Ridge Reservation. One is the Bureau of Indian Affairs system which runs five elementary schools

TABLE II-1

Factual Information on the Schools

School Name	Agency	Location	Boarding Facilities	High School Enrollment	Per Cent Athapaskan (Alaska Only)	Ethnic Composition
Pine Ridge						
Oglala Community School	BIA	Town of Pine Ridge	Yes	311	---	Indian*
Holy Rosary Mission School	Catholic Church	5 miles outside Pine Ridge	Yes	124	---	Indian
Alaska						
Ft. Yukon School	State System	Ft. Yukon	No	38	95%	Indian, White
Tanana School	State System	Tanana	No	30	85%	Indian, White, Eskimo
Nenana School	State System	Nenana	No	75	33%	White, Indian, Eskimo
Austen E. Lathrop High School	State-City System	Fairbanks	No**	1,714	5%	White, Indian, Eskimo
Mt. Edgecumbe Boarding School	BIA	Mt. Edgecumbe (Sitka)	Yes	643	12%	Indian, Eskimo, Aleut
Copper Valley School	Catholic Church	Glennallen	Yes	138	33%	Indian, Eskimo, White, Negro, Other

*The only white students attending OCS are the children of BIA personnel.

**There is no dormitory at this time, but there is a "Foster Home" boarding program which will be discussed in the section on Lathrop.

in the districts and a combination elementary and high school in the town of Pine Ridge. These "agency" schools are free for Indian children and the schools have an obligation to educate all reservation children who are not attending any other school. A second system is run by members of the Jesuit Order and Order of St. Francis at the Holy Rosary Mission. The Mission school serves both elementary and high school Indian students on the reservation (although it has in the past accepted some Indian students from other areas). The third system is a state-run elementary school located in the town of Pine Ridge attended by many of the children of white government employees on the reservation as well as by some Indian children living in the town of Pine Ridge.

Most Indian children living on the reservation are educated within one of these three systems, although some children do go away to boarding schools and some children attend public high schools in the nearby towns.

The Oglala Community School

The buildings of the Oglala Community School (OCS) are set on a flat lawn campus on the west end of the town of Pine Ridge. Immediately to the south, west and east of the school are pleasant single-family homes occupied principally by employees of the B.I.A., the majority of whom are non-Indian. A dirt road leading northwest from the campus runs into the open prairie and to Clay Hills, characterized by Indian legend as haunted.

The plant of the school itself is four main buildings -- two classroom and office buildings and two dormitories--spaced widely and interspersed with teachers' houses. The overall effect is pleasant, if architecturally eclectic, and the lack of through roads serves to segregate the campus from the town. There is much grass, carefully watered in summer, and more substantial trees than one can find elsewhere in the town.

The school serves approximately 311 high school students. Except for a small minority of white students (the children of BIA employees) the student body is Indian. OCS is a day school for most Pine Ridge town students and a boarding school for most students from other parts of the Reservation. Most students who board leave every week-end to visit their parents or other relatives.

Students entering the high school are placed into one of two distinct academic groups, based on the prior performance of the students -- both in class and on achievement and I.Q. tests. The difference between the two groups is primarily one of curriculum schedules -- for instance, students in the "upper" group might take science or a foreign language whereas the others wouldn't.

O.C.S. offers a high school curriculum designed to at least touch on the basic academic courses necessary for college entrance. Also included in the curriculum are a variety of minor courses such as music and journalism. The school does not offer specific vocational or technical education programs although it does include some home economics, industrial arts and business education courses. Opportunities for learning about Indian customs and history seem to be left to the teachers' discretion and are therefore covered primarily in social studies and history courses when and if teachers are interested in it.

Students at O.C.S. are not satisfied with the course offerings as they now stand. Many students feel that there is not enough variety in the curriculum and that the school does not really offer enough advanced level courses for students planning to attend college. Some students particularly complain about the lack of a special course on Indian culture and the lack of technical courses. One student, for instance, felt that there should be a vocational training school attached to the regular academic high school.

The school offers a fairly wide range of extra-curricular activities including some subject-related clubs as well as student council, inter-scholastic athletics and pep club. Participation in these activities is very high. Only 10% of the students said that they did not take part in any activities.

O.C.S. has three guidance counselors available to the high school students. The official guidance program begins in the freshman year when students are first encouraged to survey the post-high school alternatives and are given the Kuder Preference test to help them define their interests. During the sophomore year all students are required to take a one-semester course in occupations through which they are brought into contact with reading and reference materials and required to study one occupation in depth. The guidance program continues during the last two years of high school with outside speakers from Employment Assistance and the Armed Forces, "career gatherings," and private conferences with guidance counselors as the need arises.

Through the guidance program students with college potential receive much special attention. The guidance counselor interviewed at OCS suggested that pressure may be placed on "bright" students who are not considering college and they may be urged to take part in one of two nearby Upward Bound Programs. Also, the school arranges opportunities for the students to visit one or two colleges.

According to a guidance counselor at OCS, by the time the students are seniors they should be thoroughly informed of the post-high school alternatives. Also, since each student is known to the guidance counselors by this time, guidance involves personal consideration. The guidance counselor interviewed for this study said that he personally did not encourage students in one way or another as far as staying near home is concerned, except that if they are planning to be teachers he advises them to stay away for some time. His reasoning is that it is too hard for those students who do come back as teachers -- they must face the resentment of others because of their own success and, at the same time, try to gain status as a colleague among teachers who remember them as children.

In general, the students are somewhat more negative than positive in their attitudes toward OCS. Only 4% of the students felt that OCS offered a better education than most schools while the remainder were fairly evenly divided between thinking it was about the same as most others (50%) and thinking it was worse than most others (46%). Students who like the school seem particularly to enjoy the social opportunities it offers by being with a large number of peers, the school spirit, and the extra-curricular activities. Those with less favorable attitudes seem to be concerned about the lack of discipline and mention both stealing and drinking as particular problems. (OCS does have the reputation for being a "tough" school and some parents prefer to send their children to HRM for that reason.) Students also express some despair about the chances for improvement at OCS, noting that it is part of a government complex and therefore resistant to change.

Holy Rosary Mission

The Holy Rosary Mission (HRM) is a church and school buildings set around a square a few hundred yards from Route 18, five miles from the town of Pine Ridge. Surprisingly Spanish in appearance, the traveler has the impression that it was built strictly on a California Mission model with no attempt made to accommodate to its surroundings. Its nearest neighbors are a cluster of tarpaper shacks and an impoverished looking farm.

Like OCS, Holy Rosary serves both elementary and high school students. Holy Rosary has dormitory facilities but also accepts day students from the surrounding region. Some of its students are from families living off the reservation, but all are Indian.

Students entering the High School in the freshman year are placed into one of two academic groupings on the basis of grades, I.Q. and achievement tests and teachers' evaluations. The students in the two groups proceed at somewhat different rates through the high school curriculum, the "low" group being slower paced and covering fewer advanced courses.

Holy Rosary is a relatively small school -- there are only 124 high school students -- and therefore does not have the facilities for extensive curricular and extra-curricular offerings. The curriculum is less complete than that at OCS, lacking one major academic area -- foreign language -- and several minor areas -- home economics and industrial arts -- which are included in the OCS curriculum. However, the school does offer courses in two additional areas which derive from its special interests. First, as a church school, religion is taught and there is a religious club. Second, the school's personnel have traditionally shown interest in finding ways to understand the Indian culture and help the Indians. As a result two courses related to Indian affairs are offered--one, a course which was developed at the school by Father Bryde, Acculturational Psychology, designed to teach Indian students the application of the Indian value system to contemporary life, and the other, a course in tribal law which covers the complicated legal system under which Indians live on the reservation.

Holy Rosary Mission students, like those at OCS, are concerned about the lack of variety in the course offerings at school. In general, they miss the opportunity to select courses which appeal to them and to follow through with one subject intensively. Particular courses which students would like to see offered include foreign languages, instruction in their Indian language, home economics and drivers education.

There is one guidance counselor at HRM who, recently, has also taught the Acculturational Psychology course. He defined his goal of vocational counseling as one of encouraging the students to think about a wide variety of occupations starting as early as the freshman year. The program includes application of the Kuder and GATB tests, career gatherings with OCS, talks by Employment Assistance personnel and the availability of career information.

The guidance counselor at HRM said that one of his main concerns with graduating seniors was to keep them to realistic goals. Many students who finish high school have very high hopes and are liable to attempt something too hard for them. He feels that his role, in part, is to prevent these students who need encouragement from meeting with failure. Generally, therefore, he would guide a student toward the least difficult alternative, e.g., suggest that a student try Haskill for a year and then attempt to transfer rather than going straight to an Academic University. Although he does not attempt to direct the students towards work on the reservation specifically, he does make sure that they are aware of the opportunities near home, particularly with the BIA and the Public Health Service. He also urges students to attend schools in the area of the reservation. One advantage to such a course, he feels, is that the schools in the area are aware that they have a large number of Indian students with distinctive problems and they are learning how to deal with them. A disadvantage he sees is that the students tend to associate only with those who are Indian and find it difficult to mingle with other types of students.

The students at Holy Rosary mission seem to be somewhat more positive in their feelings towards their school than are those at OCS. Twenty per cent of the students feel that HRM is better than most other schools, 47 per cent feel it is as good as most others and the remaining 33 per cent felt it is not as good as most. Student dissatisfactions with the school center around orientations resulting from its being a church school: strict discipline and morality and obligatory church attendance. Students also criticize the age of the building and equipment. In answer to what they would like to see changed in the school, a number of students responded "the buildings; they are too old and all falling apart."

Schools Attended by Athapaskan Students

Since the purchase of Alaska by the U.S. in 1867, three types of agencies have established and operated schools for Alaskan native children: missionary churches, the federal government, and the territorial, later, state government. All three systems currently operate both elementary and secondary schools attended by Athapaskan children. Of the high schools in the State operated by the Catholic Church only one, the Copper Valley School, enrolls a significant number of Athapaskans. The education of all other Athapaskan children are currently the responsibility of the State or BIA systems.

The public education system for rural Alaskans, including both white and native children has been shared by the Alaskan and U.S. federal government since 1905.[1] Until the last decade major emphasis was on providing elementary education for children in the scattered rural communities, though in 1947 the boarding high school at Mt. Edgecumbe in Southeastern Alaska was established by the BIA to serve Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut children of the State. During the last thirty years, schools operated by the State in several of the larger rural communities have added one to four years of secondary level education to their elementary schools. In addition, since the 1920's, a varying number of Alaskan native children were sent for elementary or secondary level education to the Chemawa School in Oregon, also operated by the BIA. Until recently, the school was ungraded, and most of the students were behind grade, usually due to illness. Yet by the 1960's, the number of native children completing elementary school each year who were not eligible to attend one of the State-operated high schools was two to three times the number that Mt. Edgecumbe could enroll in its freshman class.

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[1] Education of Alaskan natives was under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Education until 1930 when responsibility was transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The problem of providing Alaskan natives with secondary education has resulted in numerous studies, proposals for long-range plans, and temporary solutions. At the time of this study a major part of the temporary solution was to send more than one thousand native students to schools outside the state, many of them either to Chemawa or to another BIA-operated high school, the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma. The number of Athapaskan students attending high schools outside Alaska is a little more than half the number attending schools within the state. As of this writing some steps have been taken to bring most of the native students back into the state for high school within the near future. Four dormitories, each housing 200 students, are under construction at four high schools in the state, including Mt. Edgecumbe. In addition, a new state-operated boarding high school has opened in the larger rural communities.

Eventually, the State of Alaska intends to take complete responsibility for the elementary and secondary education of its native as well as white children, though until that time it will continue to share this responsibility with the BIA. With the help of Alaska's newly acquired wealth, however, the end of the "dual public education" system in Alaska may not be so far distant.

State Schools

Four of the six schools attended by Athapaskans in Alaska are part of the Alaska State Education system. Three of these schools, Ft. Yukon, Tanana, and Nenana, are located in the communities which we designate as "towns" in Chapter I. The fourth state-run high school, Lathrop, is part of the Fairbanks city school system, and is the only public high school serving the city.

Ft. Yukon and Tanana. Since they are alike in most ways, Ft. Yukon and Tanana can be discussed simultaneously. In both cases, the high school facilities and curriculum have been added to an already existing elementary school and new buildings have been constructed during the last 10 years. The school buildings and equipment are therefore relatively modern and, for the most part, comfortable, though neither school has a gymnasium. Both schools serve primarily members of the local community, and therefore only a small percentage of the students are not Athapaskan. A small number of students from other villages are enrolled each year, with the state providing financial arrangements for the student to live with a local family for the school year ("Foster Parent Plan").

The curriculum is largely restricted to major academic subjects, though both schools have added courses nearly every year: Ft. Yukon has recently added a year-long occupations course and next year will introduce a class in "Indian Psychology." Tanana introduced typing last year and plans courses in Indian skin sewing and native manual arts such as making snowshoes, sleds and boats. Foreign languages, more advanced mathematics and industrial arts (especially electronics and machines) are the omissions of most serious concern to the students who say that they encounter problems in meeting college entrance requirements or in sufficient preparation for college-level programs in these areas.

Both schools are attempting to provide more extra-curricular activities. Students organizations have been developed, and, at Ft. Yukon, special effort has been put into sports and musical activities.

The guidance for both schools is the responsibility of the principal. A program of individual testing and vocational interviews is carried out by representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the help of school staff. Films, pamphlets, and occasional guest speakers are used by both schools to provide students with vocational information. The occupations course at Ft. Yukon, which is required in the junior or senior year, provides more systematic presentation of these and other materials. The NYC program at Ft. Yukon and the on-the-job training program at the Tanana hospital and FAA station give some students opportunity for job experience.

Because of the local nature, small size and ethnic homogeneity of these two schools, their students have the advantages of maintaining ties with both peers and family members and opportunities for practicing leadership roles in a non-competitive setting, on the one hand, but the disadvantages of too many family responsibilities, distractions from school work, and limited opportunity for meeting people from different backgrounds and adjustment to broader social situations, on the other hand.

Nenana. The Nenana high school is similar to Ft. Yukon and Tanana in facilities and curriculum, but differs from the other two in size and ethnic composition of the student body, extra-curricular activities, and guidance.

The number of high school students at Nenana is almost twice that at either of the other two schools, though it is still a small school compared with the other three in the study. At the high school level, three-quarters of the students are white, though the proportion of Whites to Natives (Athapaskans and Eskimos) for the school as a whole is somewhat lower. The high school has also been in existence longer than those in the other two towns.

In his guidance program, the principal is particularly concerned with providing vocational role models for the native students, most of whose parents are not regularly employed. The proximity of Nenana to Fairbanks, local business, and an FAA station have made it feasible for him to make more extensive use of guest speakers in his guidance program than is possible at the other two schools. His teaching and counseling program is otherwise the same as that at Ft. Yukon and Tanana.

Basketball, a drill team, and student council are all more developed activities than yet exist at the other two schools. Academically and in the extra-curricular sphere as well (with the exception of the basketball team, the majority of which is native), white students both lead and are more successful than are the native students.

Nenana students, similar to those at Tanana and Ft. Yukon, complained about the lack of facilities, most notably a gymnasium. Several students felt that teachers showed lack of interest in their teaching or in the students or that they exhibit prejudice toward native students.

Lathrop. Lathrop is the regular public high school for Fairbanks residents. No special provisions or programs exist for the approximately 200 Indian and Eskimo residents of the city who attend the school. A year before the field work for this study was done, however, a formal foster home boarding program was instituted to provide a number of native students from villages with the opportunity to attend Lathrop. (The alternative would probably be travelling several thousand miles to attend a BIA boarding school in either Oregon or Oklahoma.) Special guidance programs for both native students and the "foster parents" project are part of this boarding program, which served 80 students the first year and 120 the second year. No students interviewed for this study were in the program, probably because most or all were in the freshman or sophomore classes. Several students interviewed from Lathrop do live with Fairbanks residents during the school year for other reasons.

The Lathrop school building was being completed during the 1967-68 school year, and the student body was expected to reach 2000 for the 1968-69 school year. The curriculum is broad, but does not contain courses in Alaskan Native culture. Remedial work is offered in several areas. Students can also obtain course credit for work during or after school hours on the OJT program.

Guidance facilities are much more extensive than at the small schools. Five counselors carry out programs of individual testing and vocational counseling and consult with students who have academic or personal problems as well. It is questionable, however, whether the special problems of natives not on the "foster home" program, are adequately handled by the guidance program since there is no special counselor or program for these students.

Though there are many and varied extra-curricular activities at Lathrop, only two of the ten students interviewed reported participating in any activities. It may be that these students (representing the smallest proportion of Athapaskan students at any of the six schools) were not representative on this question, but if Athapaskan students are actually so unlikely to participate in activities, they are missing an important aspect of their educational experience.

Students' attitudes toward the school were, in general, positive. Nearly all felt that the quality of education was standard. Most students did not feel that changes were needed, and many students expressed positive feelings toward teachers and teaching methods with critical comments mainly focussed on the problem of teacher favoritism. A number of students mentioned liking the social opportunities at Lathrop, though many named a specific course as their favorite aspect of school. The courses most frequently mentioned as most enjoyable are, incidently, the type least available in the smaller schools, i.e., art, vocational and technical courses.

B.I.A. Schools

Mt. Edgecumbe. Mt. Edgecumbe was established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs after the Second World War to provide Alaskan Natives with secondary level education, primarily vocational training, though the curriculum has shifted to a more regular secondary school academic program. Mt. Edgecumbe continues to be the only high school in Alaska for which most Indians, Aleuts and Eskimos from smaller communities are eligible. All students board at the school which is located on an island across a strait from Sitka, Alaska. For nearly all Athapaskans, the school is at least a thousand miles from their home community. This means that no student can go home for vacation during the school year.

The facilities at Mt. Edgecumbe are seriously inadequate, and acknowledged as such by both the State of Alaska and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Most of the buildings were taken over from a World War II military base, including "temporary" barracks which are serving as the student dormitories. Though funds amounting to seven million dollars were allocated by the federal government in 1966 for making extensive improvements at the school, controversy over alternative long-range plans for a statewide program for native education has delayed all changes.

Mt. Edgecumbe's enrollment of nearly 650 students includes students from the following ethnic groups: Eskimo, Tlingit Indian, Haida Indian, Athapaskan, and Aleut. Athapaskans are one of the smaller groups (12%) in the school which, as will be discussed in later chapters, seems to have negative consequences for both their assumption of school leadership positions and recognition by others as having leadership potential. (This effect is somewhat different from that resulting from a student body of a large majority of white students.)

The curriculum includes both academic and vocational subjects, though some areas, such as foreign languages, are too limited for proper college preparation. A program in cooperation with Sheldon Jackson Junior College provides some opportunities for college-bound students to take regular college courses for credit during their senior year at Mt. Edgecumbe. The school also offers remedial courses. Though no special courses on Alaskan Native cultures are taught, 60% of the students said that they had studied about their culture in a non-required course on Alaska State history.

Extra-curricular activities cover the range from sports to special interest clubs and religious organizations. Of particular note is a student club devoted to the study of and participation in the traditional culture and customs of Alaskan natives, the advisor for which is an Indian.

Guidance at Mt. Edgecumbe includes vocational testing and counseling by a permanent counseling staff and a required course on occupations. In addition to occasional guest speakers, an annual "vocations day" gives students the opportunity to talk with and receive materials from representatives of various occupations.

Few Mt. Edgecumbe students express strongly positive feelings toward the school. In response to the several questions concerning likes and dislikes about school and desired changes, several students mentioned that they enjoyed the social opportunities. They were rarely critical of teachers or curriculum. A few said that there should be more or more varied courses, but the most frequent complaint was lack of activities, "things to do" outside of classes. The boarding facilities, rules and regulations came in for particular criticism. The students are obviously most chronically unhappy about the hours of boredom and lack of opportunity for varied activity or even work after school hours, and they are particularly eager to express these feelings in an interview.

Responses to a question on the quality of education showed that more of the Athapaskan students at Mt. Edgecumbe than those at the other five schools felt that their school was "worse than most others in giving a good education" (Mt. Edgecumbe - 53%; Tanana - 40%; Ft. Yukon - 29%; Nenana - 25%; Lathrop - 0%; Copper Valley - 0%). Such a response may reflect the Athapaskan student's general unhappiness at a school which takes him hundreds of miles from home for nine months at a time and whose facilities and staff often fall short of meeting the student's emotional if not physical needs. The students' possible belief that the education they are receiving is inferior to education elsewhere might also contribute to a sense of malaise and, feeling that they are ill-prepared to compete with students from other schools for higher education opportunities, the students may also be less likely to aim for such goals.

Parochial Schools

Copper Valley School. Copper Valley is a Catholic boarding high school, located at Glennallen, Alaska, about 200 miles south of Fairbanks. Founded in 1956, the school replaced the old Holy Cross Mission school on the lower Yukon and is housed in newly constructed, architecturally modern buildings which radiate from an enclosed center. The staff includes members of the Society of Jesus, the Sisters of St. Anne and lay volunteers.

Fully accredited by the State of Alaska, the school enrolls approximately 150 students of non-Catholic as well as Catholic faiths. Of the six Alaskan schools included in this study, Copper Valley is the most ethnically diverse and representative of Alaskan population. Approximately 35% are White, 35% Indian, and 25% are Eskimo. There are also several Aleuts, Negroes, and members of other ethnic groups in the student body.

The curriculum includes a relatively wide range of both college preparatory and vocational courses. Two years of French, journalism, and both chemistry and biology round out the academic subjects, while carpentry, home economics, business law, and bookkeeping are included in the more vocational courses. Both chorus and art are also offered.

The numerous extra-curricular activities vary from sports such as track, skiing and varsity basketball for both boys and girls to special interest clubs. Special activities include hunting, the results of which provide the school with a considerable supply of moose and caribou meat during the fall and winter months. Numerous social activities occur throughout the school year.

In addition to regular counseling by the guidance counselor and principal, an annual vocation week brings representatives from a wide variety of occupations to the school.

Copper Valley students seem generally happy with their school, both academically and socially. In response to the question asking students how education at their school compared with that at "most other schools" 80% of the Copper Valley respondents said that their school gave a "better education" than most others (the highest figure among the other five schools was 16%). A few students wanted more vocational courses for students not intending to enter college. Most students appeared to enjoy and have good relationships with most of their teachers.

The "school spirit" of Copper Valley is a major positive attribute of the school to many students, especially noted by those who have transferred from other schools. The CVS social life and boarding situation seem less difficult for students than those at Mt. Edgecumbe. Better physical facilities, a smaller student body, and the greater opportunity for a trip home during the school year (due to a more central location of the school) for many students all contribute to the ease of adjustment of Athapaskan students to boarding.

The area of guidance appears to be relatively weak at Copper Valley. Fewer students than at several of the other schools stated that school staff had provided them with information about jobs or college. Since the project director was unable to personally visit the school, however, we are not able to give a complete picture of the school's guidance program.

* * *

Before we proceed to a discussion of students' performance in school in Chapter III, we will investigate the impact of schools on the cultural attitudes of their students. Only the Pine Ridge schools will be included in this discussion for the reasons stated in the introduction to this chapter.

School Influence on Cultural Attitudes for Sioux Students

A common criticism of schools attended by Indians has been that the students are frequently taught white middle-class values within these schools and that there is little attention paid to the culture of the students. The argument runs that the schools, by having mainly white teachers who tend to believe that Indians should become part of the mainstream American culture, and by the emphasis on a future orientation to goals of success by White standards, tend to alienate Indian students from their own cultural background. This issue is crucial to the problem of developing indigenous leadership since an Indian who rejects his culture and chooses success in the white world is likely to seek a position of leadership. Also, the attitudes an Indian has toward his own culture may determine the type and direction of his leadership.

In this section we will investigate this problem by looking at the cultural attitudes of Pine Ridge students and relating them to their school experiences. We will first examine differences in attitudes by school attended, and then attempt to explain some of these differences by experiences in the schools in terms of the course offerings, the attitudes of teachers and the historical orientations of the schools.

Sioux Student Attitudes

In Chapter I we discussed the total student responses to a number of questions designed to tap the degree of concern students felt about the continuance of particular Indian customs and traditions. When we relate these cultural attitudes to the schools attended by the students we find that students attending the Holy Rosary Mission School consistently hold more "positive" cultural attitudes toward Indian culture than students attending the Oglala Community School.

One question asked students whether they would encourage their children to take part in Indian traditions, e.g., dancing at the pow-wows or the Sundance. As can be seen in Table II-2, students attending HRM were more likely to answer this question affirmatively than students attending OCS.

TABLE II-2

Whether a Sioux Student Would Encourage a Child to Participate in Traditional Activities by School

	School	
Encourage Child	HRM	OCS
Yes	72%	55%
No	22	23
Don't Know	6	22
N =	(32)	(87)

When this question is related to degree of Indian blood, Full Blood students are more likely to respond affirmatively. However, since the HRM students are less often Full Blood (36% versus 54% in OCS) the more positive cultural responses in HRM cannot be explained by different populations entering the schools. Further, actual participation of the students in these traditional activities is distributed evenly between the two schools (about 20% in each school).

Another question designed to tap student concern with the preservation of Indian culture asked whether the student would teach his children to speak the Indian language. Again we find that students attending HRM are more likely to respond affirmatively to this question, as shown in Table II-3.

TABLE II-3

Per Cent of Sioux Students Who Would Teach
Their Child to Speak Indian by School

	School	
	HRM	OCS
Teach Child Indian Language	94%	76%
N =	(17)	(51)

Again, there is no difference by school in the numbers of students who themselves speak Indian (47% in each school).

Students were also asked whether they thought that more should be taught about Indian life and customs in their schools. As shown in Table II-4, the difference between the two schools is in the same direction, though smaller, as the differences reported above. Students at HRM are more likely to consider it important that Indian students be taught about their background than are students from OCS.

TABLE II-4

Per Cent of Sioux Students Who Believe More Culture Should Be Taught by School

	School	
	HRM	OCS
Believe More Culture Should Be Taught	87%	79%
N =	(32)	(87)

Finally, a question designed to measure the degree to which students feel a strong identification with other members of their own culture asked whether students would prefer to be taught by Indians rather than by Whites. And once again we find that students form HRM are more likely to respond affirmatively (see Table II-5).

TABLE II-5

Whether a Sioux Student Prefers to Be Taught by Indians by School

Prefer to Be Taught by Indians	School	
	HRM	OCS
Yes	50%	31%
Don't Care	40	56
No	10	13
N =	(32)	(87)

Although the desire to live on or off the reservation is determined by many factors, including the realization that reservation life has little to offer a person with an education and professional aspirations, to some extent it may reflect an individual's identification with his own people or community. And, as seen in Table II-6, students attending HRM are more likely to assert that they plan to live on the reservation than are students attending OCS.

TABLE II-6

Per Cent of Students Planning to Live on the Reservation by School

	School	
	HRM	OCS
Plan to Live on Reservation	25%	10%
N =	(32)	(87)

In sum, then, we find that students from Holy Rosary Mission consistently show a higher degree of concern with the continuance of and identification with their culture than do students from OCS. These relationships appear even when the items are related to Full Blood students. Below we will attempt to account for this difference.

Course Offerings at the Schools

One possible explanation for the attitudinal differences found between the students at the two schools is that there are differences in the extent to which the culture is taught in the schools. It is reasonable to assume that learning about one's culture results in greater interest and concern. And indeed, teachers at HRM more often report that they include Indian life and customs in their curriculum than do teachers at OCS. Of the eight teachers interviewed at HRM only one responded that he had not included material on Indian life in his course; and his explanation for this oversight suggests that he plans to do so: "While teaching I was in the process of learning about Indian life and customs and had little knowledge of the Sioux tribe." In contrast, only two of the six teachers at OCS indicated that they had included Indian life and customs in their courses.

These differences in the extent to which teachers include subject material on Indians are confirmed in student responses to the question "Have you ever studied about Indian life or customs?" The great majority of students at HRM reported that they had been exposed to this kind of material, while only half of the students at OCS responded affirmatively (see Table II-7).

TABLE II-7

Per Cent of Students Reporting That They Have Studied Indian Culture by School

	School	
	HRM	OCS
Studied Indian Culture	87%	51%
N =	(32)	(87)

As noted earlier, the difference between the two schools in exposure of students to materials on Indian life and customs may help to account for the more positive cultural attitudes of students from HRM. However, this does not seem to be the only explanation. For when we relate the five questions on cultural attitudes to having been taught about Indian life and customs for students at OCS we find that students who were exposed to the material are not noticeably more positively oriented to Indian culture, as shown in Table II-8. (Since only four students in HRM did not report having been taught Indian culture, it is impossible to apply the appropriate controls among HRM students.)

TABLE II-8

Per Cent of OCS Students Responding Positively to Cultural Questions by Whether or Not They Studied Indian Culture Material in School

		Studied Culture	
		Yes	No
Encourage Children to Participate		82%	72%
	N =	(44)	(43)
Teach Child Indian Language		79%	72%
	N =	(24)	(25)
Believe More Culture Should Be Taught		84%	77%
	N =	(43)	(42)
Prefer to Be Taught by Indian		32%	30%
	N =	(44)	(43)
Plan to Live on the Reservation		11%	9%
		(44)	(43)

Teacher Attitudes

An alternative explanation for the differences in the cultural attitudes of students at OCS and HRM might be found in differences in attitudes towards Indian culture among the teachers at the two schools. Perhaps the feelings of teachers concerning the preservation of the Indian way of life are revealed to their students through casual comments made during classes as well as through the presentation of any material on Indian life and culture.

The responses of the teachers to the following question permits us to see whether the staff of one school is more favorably disposed to preserving the Indian culture than the staff of the other.

> There are two opposing attitudes toward the solution of the existing "Indian problem." One favors self-determination and the continued segregation of Indian communities from White America. The second favors the integration of Indians into the dominant white American culture.
>
> Which of these views coincides most nearly with your own? Please explain your answer fully, considering the implication of each view for policy decisions in the fields of government, education, law, etc.

As shown in Table II-9, when we examine the distribution of answers by the schools in which the teachers taught we find that all of the teachers interviewed at HRM who selected one of the two options favored "self-determination and continued segregation," while none of the OCS teachers endorsed this position.

TABLE II-9

Numerical Distribution of Teacher Views for Solution of "Indian Problem" by School

	School	
	OCS	HRM
"Self-Determination"	---	5
"Integration"	4	---
Unclear or Neutral	2	1
No Answer	---	2
Total	(6)	(8)

Examples of each type of answer will be found below:

"Self-Determination"

> I favor the first. The integration of the present day Indian in American society to my mind is a complete failure. The problems of Indians are only magnified when the Indian moves off the reservation, usually resulting in failure.
>
> I do not propose a back to blanket, but an emphasis on staying on the Reservation and working in their own culture. The Indian has much to teach the white man and can best do this by developing his own ethnic way of life.

> Self-determination and continued "segregation" for two reasons. 1) The majority of Indians seem to favor it. 2) The Indian tradition is worth saving and worth living. Such "segregation" does not mean the total rejection of European culture, but an attempt to maintain an Indian identity and consciousness. The exact form of such an endeavor must be left to the Indians. The job of government, education, laws and the churches is to aid them where possible to see all sides before choosing and then back their choices with whatever help is possible. . . .

> . . . I believe that as many Indians as desire to should be permitted to live together as a group; that their tribal laws, customs and traditions should be maintained to the extent they desire; that

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> . . . I believe that as many Indians as desire to should be permitted to live together as a group; that their tribal laws, customs and traditions should be maintained to the extent they desire; that

> the U.S. owes them its protection to as many as need it.
>
> In a word, the reservation system was an error originally. But now it is their last hope.

> I believe the Indian . . . should be allowed to retain his own tribe and culture. . . . The Indian tribes as in the original American constitution should be treated as separate nations and allowed self-determination as long as they so desire. . . .

"Integration"

> There is no question but that they must be involved in mainstream America. I appreciate their desires and ours that they maintain a knowledge of their culture just as all people that make up this nation are interested in their family origins and native cultures. The Indians do not have a sufficient common language on which to build careers or business. Surely they do not have the trained leadership necessary to develop progressively.

> I consider myself and other Indians as equal citizens of this country. I do not feel that we should try to stay on the reservation, or that White people should be kept out. The reservation and all old Indian treaties should be abolished. Trust land should become taxable deeded land. Federal property on the reservation should be turned over to the state, country, or town, which ever could use it the best.

From the distribution of types of replies it is clear that the students attending the two schools are exposed to two different types of attitudes. Students at HRM are more likely to have teachers who would encourage interest in and concern with distinctly Indian ways of living. Students at OCS are more likely to run into the attitude that they should prepare for full participation in American culture and leave behind their distinctly Indian way of life.

This difference in attitudes appears in the responses to other questions as well. In a hypothetical question which posed a choice between encouraging a qualified student to attend college or accede to his own desire to become a laborer, teachers from the two schools gave different types of responses. Most OCS teachers said that they would encourage the student to go to college, although several teachers said that if he was not interested at that point he should stay out for awhile. Several teachers from HRM also said that they would encourage the student to attend college; however, some of these teachers expressed an awareness of the fact that college might not be an appropriate alternative for an Indian student. Another teacher at HRM expressed the concern that college attendance might encourage a bright Indian to stay away from the reservation:

> As far as possible I would take into account his individual happiness. That being equal, I'd probably advise him to stay near home though I think a job involving technological skills would be possible. In general, the natural sciences are useless to the Indian community so that anyone going into them inevitably moves away.

And another responded,

> Push him but not very much. He may be able to do outstanding college work but this does not mean that the Indian student will have any success in college life.

A similar difference in type of response showed up in answer to the question, "What kinds of students do you think ought not to apply for college?" Teachers from OCS unanimously responded in terms of academic ability, emotional stability, and interest. Teachers from HRM, on the other hand, often discussed the particular problems which would be faced by Indian students because of their cultural distinctness:

> Most Indian students [ought not to apply to college]. The cultural conflict with WASP society soon brings them back to the reservation. We need an Indian college.

> Those who clearly are sociologically fullbloods and are likely to remain so.

> Those not culturally close to white ways -- they can't cope with college classes and routine.

And another teacher in HRM expressed the concern that college would lead a student away from his own people:

> Those who don't have the ability or interest, though the latter may go later. Too much emphasis on going exists. Means of skimming cream from the reservation.

In sum, then, we see that the different attitudes of the teachers at the two schools are reflected in their feelings about Indian students attending college. OCS teachers seem to have the attitude that college is a good alternative for anyone with ability and interest. HRM teachers pay more attention to possible cultural conflicts and the fact that college may be the means of "skimming the cream from the reservation."

Historical Orientations

Finally, it would be misleading not to mention the different historical orientations of the two schools in Pine Ridge. OCS is a BIA school and its practices have always been the product of government policy. Although these policies have shifted through the years, a more or less continuous orientation of those policies has been to bring the Indian as a full citizen into White America. Any accommodations to "Indianness" have tended to be superficial, and only recently in such experimental schools as Rough Rock has the BIA sought a different orientation: one in which the BIA's role is to educate Indian children as Indians and to involve the community in this process. A prime result of the traditional bureau policy has been community fear and distrust of the schools as child stealers, a fear which experimental schools like Rough Rock are trying to dissipate.

The orientation of HRM traditionally has been very different from that of OCS. The Jesuits who established the schools came as missionaries and their primary objective was to convert the Indian to Catholicism. They were, therefore, interested in the souls of the Indians and they early assumed that Christian souls could reside in Indian dress. Many Jesuits felt that establishing contact and teaching the rudiments of Christianity was a more important goal than transforming the entire life style of the Indians. Traditionally, the Mission personnel have sought ways to accommodate themselves to the Indians: some have learned to speak the Indian language and some have attempted to incorporate pagan Indian religious values and ideas into the Catholic Mass.

Conclusion

From the discussion above it has become clear that there is a difference between the two Pine Ridge schools under investigation in terms of the students' commitments to the preservation of Indian culture. This is not only a matter of curricular material on Indian culture but also of the attitudes of the teachers and the historical orientations of the schools. The impact of these attitudes can be gleaned from the fact that the commitments of the students run counter to that which might be expected on the basis of degree of Indian Blood alone.

CHAPTER III

STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

We now turn to the investigation of background factors related to students' performance in school, that is, academic achievement and the special problems of being behind grade and dropping out. In the remainder of this study we will be interested in academic performance mainly as it affects the plans and aspirations of Indian high school students and determines their leadership potential.

In our examination of academic performance we will focus on two specific types of questions. The first asks whether those Indians who are more assimilated in terms of blood and other cultural and social factors are doing better in school, that is, whether greater approximation to a white middle class way of life is accompanied by greater achievement in an essentially "white" value system. The second question is whether variables known to be related to academic performance within the white population in this country operate in the same fashion within an Indian population.

Class Rank

Academic performance is operationally defined in this study as the students' class rank. For the Athapaskan students, class rank was computed from the average gradepoint of each class and the gradepoint average of each student. Since in no school in Alaska are Athapaskans the only ethnic group, and, in fact, are a minority in three of the schools, they are not evenly distributed between the upper and lower halves of their classes. The overall distribution of the students interviewed shows 42% of the Athapaskans in the upper half of their classes, 58% in the lower half. There is considerable variation by school and grade level in the proportion of those students interviewed who are in the upper half of their class, but sampling differences among the schools preclude interpretive statements about the effects of various school characteristics.

Grade point averages were not available for the Sioux students, but the schools did offer information on whether students fell into the upper or lower halves of their classes. In both of the schools studied in Pine Ridge the junior and senior levels were divided into two equal-sized groups according to class rank. (Because of a small sampling bias, a slightly larger proportion of Sioux students interviewed fell into the lower half of their class.)

We will begin this analysis with some indicators of assimilation, then introduce two socio-economic background characteristics, parents' education and employment status. The first indicator of assimilation is blood.

Blood

Table III-1 shows that among the Sioux, Mixed Blood students are more likely to be in the upper half of their class than are Full Blood students, indicating that this aspect of assimilation is positively related to academic performance. Although the reverse appears to be true for the Athapaskan group, the overall figures are misleading as we shall explain below.

TABLE III-1

Students' Class Rank by Blood

	Sioux			Athapaskan	
	Blood			Blood	
Class Rank	Mixed	Full	Class Rank	Mixed	Full
Upper Half	55%	37%	Upper Half	35%	52%
Lower Half	45	63	Lower Half	65	48
N =	(49)	(51)	N =	(26)	(36)

Achievement of Athapaskan students at Mt. Edgecumbe follow a very different pattern from that of students at the other five Alaskan schools. First, the average class rank of Athapaskan students is *higher* than that of all students in classes at Mt. Edgecumbe. Second, Full Bloods at Mt. Edgecumbe do better than Mixed Bloods, a *reversal* of the usual relationship found between blood and achievement (see Table III-2).

The first situation may be explained by an academic advantage Athapaskans have over a majority of students at Mt. Edgecumbe. More than half the students at the school are Eskimo, many of whom speak English as a second language and are thereby academically handicapped relative to Athapaskans, nearly all of whom speak English as a first language.

The reversed relationship between blood and class rank at Mt. Edgecumbe may be explained by reference to certain background characteristics of its Athapaskan students. It is the only school in the study where virtually all the Athapaskan students come from small villages. As we noted in Chapter I, Mixed Blood students from villages tend to be "misfits" in terms of assimilation, reflected in lower rates of family stability and parental employment, and in higher rates of mobility and participation in traditional activities and language than either Full Blood villagers or Mixed Bloods living in towns or cities. On the whole, Mixed Bloods who have remained in small villages may be a group especially resistent to adopting white values, such as achievement motivation, more so than either their Full Blood neighbors, who are less conflictful, or than those Mixed Bloods who have moved to towns or cities, who are in the process of assimilating both physically and culturally. The children of these "misfits" may also, then, be less motivated to achieve in school. The lower achievement of the Mixed Blood students may account for the relatively higher achievement of Full Blood students at Mt. Edgecumbe.

TABLE III-2

Athapaskan Students' Class Rank by Blood, Separating
Mt. Edgecumbe from the Other Five Schools

Five Schools			Mt. Edgecumbe		
	Blood			Blood	
Class Rank	Mixed	Full	Class Rank	Mixed	Full
Upper Half	31%	27%	Upper Half	44%	69%
Lower Half	69	73	Lower Half	56	31
N =	(26)	(11)	N =	(9)	(16)

There appears to be little relationship between blood and class rank among Athapaskan students when we exclude Mt. Edgecumbe. Part of the reason for the lower relative achievement levels of the students in the five other schools may be sample bias, but for most classes the major reason is that a large proportion of the students are white. A number of social and cultural factors make it more difficult for Athapaskan than for white students to perform well in school.

The relationship between Full Blood status and low academic performance among Sioux students has several possible explanations. First, Full Blood status is related to a number of other social and cultural variables which in turn (as we shall see below) are related to academic achievement. These variables include parents' educational level, father's employment status, and language spoken at home. Second, there may exist among Full Blood students certain traditional cultural values which inhibit high academic performance. For instance, Full Blood students are more apt to be shy and therefore unwilling to speak up in front of class. They may also find it difficult to break the cultural prohibition against competition. Both shyness and a lack of competitiveness would handicap a student's school performance.

Home Community

Another variable which reflects assimilation is the student's home community. Among the Sioux, students who live in villages may be considered less assimilated in terms of contact with and influence by whites than those who live in the town of Pine Ridge, and the latter less assimilated than students who live off the reservation. In Alaska, those students who live in small villages have less contact with assimilating influences than those whose homes are in the larger villages, and the latter less than students whose homes are in Fairbanks or other towns with a majority of white residents. Thus, while blood reflects past biological assimilation, home community reflects current cultural contacts.

Table III-3 below indicates that among the Sioux there is no difference in class rank between students whose homes are on the reservation, whether in villages or in the town of Pine Ridge. Students who live off the reservation, however, tend to be found more often in the upper half of their class. But the numbers of students attending reservation schools who do not live on the reservation is too small to serve as a basis for a definite conclusion concerning the effects of this type of cultural contact.

TABLE III-3

Sioux Students' Class Rank by Home Community

	Home Community		
Class Rank	Village	Town	Off Reservation
Upper Half	47%	48%	83%
Lower Half	53	52	17
N =	(55)	(52)	(6)

For the Alaskans, there is a significant difference in class rank between students from villages and those from the more developed communities (see Table III-4). The relationship may again be explained by the exceptional situation at Mt. Edgecombe, the school attended by most of the students from the small villages.

TABLE III-4

Athapaskan Students' Class Rank by Home Community

	Home Community		
Class Rank	Village	Town	City
Upper Half	55%	29%	25%
Lower Half	45	71	75
N =	(33)	(21)	(8)

Indian Language

For the Sioux, the language a student speaks at home is a third relevant variable which reflects assimilation. Speaking English can be taken to be an indication of the extent to which contact with whites is possible, that is, if an individual speaks English poorly, his opportunities for interaction with whites who do not speak Indian are severely limited.

Students whose parents do not speak English may well operate under a handicap in the school situation since they have to learn English in school as a second language. As we can see in Table III-5 below, Sioux students who speak only Indian at home (an indication that the parents know little or no English) perform considerably worse than students who have had some opportunity to use English at home.

TABLE III-5

Sioux Students' Class Rank by
Language Spoken at Home

	Language Spoken at Home	
Class Rank	Indian Only	English*
Upper Half	29%	51%
Lower Half	71	49
N =	(14)	(103)

*In some of these homes Indian as well as English is spoken.

Since Athapaskan students nearly all speak English as a first language, they are not differentiated on this characteristic.

Parents' Education and Employment

Parents' education and employment status are standard variables used in studies of student achievement. Both characteristics are related to the process of assimilation as it shifts the values and achievements of such assimilating groups or individuals toward the norm of the white middle class.

First we look at the relationship between parents' education and student achievement in the tables below.

TABLE III-6

Per Cent of Sioux Students in the Upper Half of Their Class According to Parents' Education

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Class	Parental Education		
	Less Than Grade School	Less Than High School	High School and Above
		(Mothers)	
	35%	41%	74%
N =	(20)	(58)	(23)
		(Fathers)	
	40%	45%	70%
N =	(25)	(47)	(20)

The figures for the Sioux indicate that the amount of parents' education is positively related to students' academic performance, the relationship being stronger for mother's education. Among the Athapaskans, neither the father's nor the mother's education is related to academic achievement. As we discussed in Chapter I, educational opportunity for Athapaskans, in contrast to the Sioux, has been limited until the last few years: most parents of the Athapaskan students in this study did not even complete grade school, as the base numbers in Table III-7 show.

TABLE III-7

Per Cent of Athapaskan Students in the Upper Half of Their Class According to Parents' Education

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Class	Less Than Grade School	Less Than High School	High School and Above
		(Mothers)	
	47%	56%	20%
N =	(30)	(16)	(5)
		(Fathers)	
	49%	39%	33%
N =	(30)	(13)	(3)

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that parental education is not an influential factor in the Athapaskan students' academic performance. Judging from the Sioux relationship, however, one can anticipate that with increased educational opportunities for Athapaskans, parents' education will have more of an impact on students' performance.

The absence of a relationship between parents' education level and school achievement does not mean that parents do not affect their children's achievement in other ways. Students who report that their parents talk to them about school or their homework are more often in the upper half of their class, as shown by the figures in Table III-8.

TABLE III-8

Students' Class Rank by Parents' Talking About School

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Class	Sioux		Athapaskan	
	Parents Talk About School		Parents Talk About School	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	64%	39%	54%	36%
N =	(41)	(67)	(24)	(36)

For both Indian groups this type of parental support is strongly related to students' class rank.[1] Of course, it may be that students who are actually doing better in school are more eager to discuss school with their parents. No doubt the relationship between parental interest and academic achievement runs in both directions.

As we discussed in Chapter I, a large percentage of the students' parents are not regularly employed, and nearly all of those who are employed have jobs which fall into categories of skilled or unskilled labor. In relating this characteristic to students' class rank, it is reasonable to make a distinction only between employed and not employed. For both Sioux and Athapaskans, mothers' employment does not affect students' performance.

There is a difference between the two groups of students in the effect of fathers' employment. Employment is not related to students' achievement for Athapaskans. The absence of this relationship is not surprising since few Athapaskan fathers are employed (43%), and those who are employed are not more likely to have more education than those who are not employed. In contrast, for the Sioux, fathers' employment is highly related to students' academic performance, as shown in Table III-9.

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[1] Among Athapaskans, boarders say as frequently as non-boarders that their parents talk to them about school or their homework.

TABLE III-9

Per Cent of Sioux Students in the Upper Half of Their Class by Whether Father is Employed

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Class	Father Employed	
	Yes	No
	63%	38%
N =	(52)	(61)

Our purpose in relating these background factors to class rank has been to indicate those characteristics which might facilitate or inhibit a student's academic performance. We now look briefly at two other aspects of academic performance, being behind grade and dropping out.

Below Grade Level

In both Alaska and Pine Ridge, being belowgrade level is a significant problem. Fifty per cent of the Athapaskans and 51% of the Sioux students are academically behind what might be expected on the basis of their chronological age. There is a strong relationship between being below grade level and class rank for both groups, as shown in Table III-10. Students who are overaged for their grade level are much less likely to be in the upper half of their class.

A probable explanation for the relationship, and one discussed in some detail in other studies (Ray, 1962; Wax 1964), is that non-promotion is practiced where students do not meet minimum academic standards. This practice is often regarded as reducing the student's self-image and his incentive to work.

TABLE III-10

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Their Class by Whether They Are on Grade or Below Grade

Per Cent of Students in the Upper Half of Class	Sioux		Athapaskans	
	On Grade	Behind Grade	On Grade	Behind Grade
	65%	32%	58%	27%
N =	(43)	(53)	(31)	(31)

Only our data for the Sioux supports this argument that non-promotion leads to decreased motivation. Sioux students who are below grade report more frequently than students who are on grade level that they have considered dropping out of school (see Table III-11 below). For Athapaskans, being below grade does not affect this aspect of motivation.

TABLE III-11

Per Cent of Students Who Thought of Dropping Out by Whether They Are on Grade or Below Grade

Per Cent of Students Who Thought About Dropping Out	Sioux		Athapaskans	
	On Grade	Behind Grade	On Grade	Behind Grade
	14%	29%	25%	25%
N =	(37)	(41)	(31)	(24)

Among the Sioux, the incidence of being below grade is greater among boys than girls. This relationship is probably explained by the fact that boys more frequently drop out of school than do girls (see below). Students who drop out of school for some time will, naturally, be below grade level when they return.

School Drop Outs

The large number of students dropping out of school constitute a major problem in both Indian groups. Figures obtained for the Athapaskans do not include information on those students who had dropped out during the school year covered by the study, and very few Athapaskan students reported that they had dropped out prior to the time of the interview. Therefore only Sioux data will be used in this discussion. A drop out is here defined as a student who quit school at any time, and for any length of time, during his high school years. Some of the students included had returned to school at the time of the study.[2]

As was mentioned above, drop outs are more frequently behind grade than are non-drop outs, the two factors being largely interdependent (see Table III-12). Drop outs are also less likely to be in the upper half of their class, a relationship which might indicate that low academic performance results in decreased motivation and commitment to education (see Table III-13). Boys are more frequently drop outs than girls, and Mixed Bloods more frequently than Full Bloods (see Tables III-14 and III-15).

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[2] Our designation of drop-outs is based on both school records and students' self reports which were not always in agreement. Although some students reported that they had dropped out for a very brief period of time, they are classified as drop outs because our major concern is with the intention to quit school.

TABLE III-12

Relationship Between Being on Grade and Dropping Out for Sioux Students

	Non-Drop Outs	Drop Outs
On Grade	51%	68%
Behind Grade	49	32
N =	(81)	(26)

TABLE III-13

Sioux Students' Class Rank by Whether or Not They Have Dropped Out

Class Rank	Non-Drop Outs	Drop Outs
Upper Rank	52%	35%
Lower Half	48	65
N =	(85)	(23)

TABLE III-14

Sioux Students' Dropping Out by Sex

	Sex	
	Male	Female
Drop Outs	34%	16%
Non-Drop Outs	66	84
N =	(36)	(63)

TABLE III-15

Sioux Students' Dropping Out by Blood

	Blood	
	Mixed	Full
Drop Outs	30%	22%
Non-Drop Outs	70	78
N =	(56)	(55)

Summary

In this chapter we have related various background characteristics to students' achievement as measured by class rank. Two very different pictures of these relationships emerge for Sioux and Athapaskans.

The more assimilated the Sioux students are in terms of blood, home community, language spoken at home, parents' education, and parents' employment, the more likely they are to be in the upper half of their class. Both the Sioux student's ability to cope with the White Man's education system enough to remain in it and his motivation to achieve according to its criteria are affected by each of these assimilation variables, all of which are related to the first one, blood, as we say in Chapter I. The advantages which a Mixed Blood student has over a Full Blood are both reinforcing and cumulative -- blood relates to home community which relates to language spoken; the latter is also affected by parents' education which increases the probability of parents' employment.

The student with employed parents copes with school more easily because he is more likely to have the proper clothes to attend school (and therefore is not ashamed to go), to be teased less by his more "sophisticated" peers, to be less shy, to understand the teacher's language well, to be more responsive in class. He is more likely to achieve for some of these reasons as well as the following: he is more likely to have both role models and a source of direct help from parents who speak English and have more years of education, and he is more likely to receive encouragement and thereby be motivated to do well in school.

In contrast, the academic performance of Athapaskan students is not related to any of these assimilation characteristics. This lack of a relationship may be due to the fact that the various assimilation variables are unrelated to one another, and therefore do not reenforce one another in relation to educational achievement. In other words, the stages of assimilation among Athapaskans are less homogeneous than among the Sioux, presumably owing to their greater interaction with white society. We are thus forced to look for other factors to explain variation in performance. Ethnic balance within the school, which we have discussed in both Chapter II and in this chapter, is one possible factor, though our data can only suggest a relationship. Undoubtedly, there are a number of complexly-related factors ranging from size, facilities and location to educational and humanistic philosophies of the school staff (such as those described for the Pine Ridge teachers in Chapter II) which contribute to variation in student academic performance. Our data for the Athapaskans on these factors is not adequate for such an analysis, but this should be further explored in another study.

CHAPTER IV

COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION

In Chapter III we examined the academic performance of students in terms of class rank and various characteristics of the students which might be related to it. In this chapter we will take a broader view and investigate more general student attitudes toward education. In particular, we will discuss the degree of commitment the students express toward their education. Further, we will investigate some possible sources of support for this commitment by looking at the influence of parents and teachers.

Students from both Alaska and South Dakota appear to have a strong commitment to education: they appear to be both well aware of the importance for their future aims of obtaining at least a high school education and willing to place educational goals before other values and interests.

Completing High School

Responses to several questions indicate that students feel that staying in school and completing a high school education is vital. For instance, when presented with the following hypothetical situation, students expressed strong opposition to dropping out as a response to difficulties in school:

> An Indian boy wants to complete high school but he is already one grade behind and he has said that if he has to stay behind again he will have to drop out of school. He has just failed an important test that will decide whether or not he is to be promoted this year. [Students were asked what they would do if they were the boy.]

Although a few students said that they would drop out, nearly all students emphatically believe that staying in school should take first priority. A typical response was that the student should "stay in and work harder." A number of students added the comment "even if he has to stay behind," emphasizing that the importance of finishing high school overrides such considerations as loss of time and the personal humiliation of being below grade level.

Another indication of students' attitudes toward dropping out is given in their descriptions of how they felt when a close friend dropped out of school before finishing his high school education. Most of those students in both Alaska and Pine Ridge who reported that one of their close friends had dropped out of school said that they had been upset about it; and several students mentioned efforts, on the part of themselves or other students, to talk the drop-out into staying in or returning to school. Some students who said that they had dropped out for awhile themselves also remarked that their friends had encouraged them to return to school. We can infer, therefore, that peer group pressure is often brought to bear on students who consider dropping out of school. Within our sample even pregnancy was not considered sufficient cause for a student to be out of school for more than a few weeks.

Another indication of student's commitment to education emerges from boarding student responses to a question asking whether they would like school either more or less if they lived at home. Nearly half of the boarding students in Alaska and over half of those in Pine Ridge who said that they would like school less if they lived at home referred to problems of studying at home. (Two students in Alaska and four in Pine Ridge who said they would like school more if they lived at home stated that they would be able to study better there.) Clearly, many students weight the opportunity to study more heavily than they do other aspects of the boarding situation.

Relevance of Education to Future Goals

A number of studies on the education of Indians, as well as of other disadvantaged groups, raise the question of a student's perception of the relevance of education to future goals. One aspect of this question is whether students see any relationship between their current school performance and their post-graduation plans.

Our respondents were asked how important getting good marks in school was to them personally and why they considered good marks important. Within both groups, most students responded that good marks were very important; and most frequently they gave the reason that good marks were required to fulfill their future educational or occupational goals. Some typical responses were, "Good marks would determine what I am going to do later on;" "They check your high school records for later references;" "I need good marks for college;" "Because if you get high marks you're going to get ahead in the future."

Further evidence of student awareness of the relevance of high school for the future comes from the fact that a majority of the students responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you think your education will help you get a job?" Sixty-two per cent of the Athapaskans and 73% of the Sioux expressed the belief that their high school diplomas would make a difference in their chances of getting good jobs. A sizeable minority of students, moreover, responded to this question with the awareness that a high school education alone had relatively limited value for the attainment of higher level jobs. Twenty-five per cent of the Athapaskans and 20% of the Sioux responded that further education was necessary for most jobs or for the ones they personally hoped to obtain.

The need for additional education or training is also stressed by students in response to the question, "How much education do you think a young Indian needs these days to get along well inside his home community and how much for outside of it?" The two sets of figures below reflect not only the students' awareness of the need for education beyond high school, but also the realistic distinctions they make between the occupational structure of their home communities and that of the outside world.

TABLE IV-1

Amount of Education Students Think Is Needed
to Live Inside/Outside Home Communities

	Pine Ridge		Alaska	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
Grade School	16%	1%	45%	5%
High School	52	14	38	22
Some Training Beyond High School	16	39	7	27
Four Years of College	17	46	11	45
N =	(116)	(115)	(58)	(55)

Not only do students believe in the relevance of their education but they emphasize in a most practical way the priority of education over other interests. In response to the question, "If you won a contest or lottery what would you do with the money?" a third of the Athapaskans and sixteen per cent of the Sioux said that they would use part of the money on education. Moreover, the fact that nearly all of the Athapaskans and about a third of Sioux asserted that they would save the money again illustrates the future orientation of these students, a remarkable one in view of the often talked about tendency of Indians to be strongly oriented to the present.

A final note on the significance of education to these students comes from their responses to the questions, "Do you think your life will be different from your parents' lives?" and, if "yes," "What do you think will make the difference?" Most students replied that their lives would be different from that of the generation before them and, although the reasons varied, many students gave more education as the primary one. Typical responses were, "I had more education than they had -- better schools and better courses;" "I will have a B.S. in something;" "Because of more opportunities -- money and education;" "I will be living better because this generation has more education than the last."

Clearly, the commitment expressed by students toward education is only a part of a larger picture. Students are committed to education as a means to a goal. As was shown above, they see their education as being relevant to their future plans; they work for good marks because "good marks determine your future," and they see education as the primary means through which their own lives can be different from those of their parents. In short, the students are committed to education for instrumental reasons, not because education is intrinsically valuable. They have plans for their lives which they realize can be achieved only through education. These plans will be examined more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Before we leave this discussion, it is necessary to say something about the possibility of rationalization in the responses to questions about commitment. For many of the students involved in this study, completing a high school education has involved some sacrifices. In areas where there is a high drop out rate, going through high school may mean that students have effectively isolated themselves from their peer group. In many cases, students might find it difficult to justify their staying in school when they see members of their peer group already participating as adults in the community. In other situations, students may have to fight against the pressure from a family living on a subsistence income to drop out of school and help support the family. In addition, a number of students have to deal with the humiliation attendant on being several years older than other members of their class.

For many of these students, therefore, expressed commitment to education may be, to some extent, a rationalization for the sacrifices they have made. Clearly they are committed to education -- otherwise they would not have made the sacrifices -- but the degree of commitment may be intensified as a form of self-justification.

Sources of Commitment

We would like next to discuss some possible sources of support for this commitment. We will look first at sources which lie outside the school experience, namely the influence of parents, siblings and friends. We will then turn to the possible influence of teachers on student attitudes.

Responses to several questions in the interview indicate that the support of parents has been a strong factor in maintaining the commitment of most students to completing their high school education. First, students were asked directly, "Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most to go this far in school?" Fifty per cent of the Athapaskan students and sixty-one per cent of the Sioux students responded that either one or both of their parents had exerted the greatest influence on their staying in school.

In another question students were asked "What would your mother say or do if you decided to drop out of school?" The distribution of responses in Table IV-2 indicates that most students see their parents as being highly supportive of their efforts in school. Only a small percentage of students feel that their parents would make no effort to prevent them from dropping out of school.

TABLE IV-2

Distribution of Students' Reports of Parents' Responses to Student Dropping Out of School

What Parents Would Do If Student Decided to Drop Out of School:	Pine Ridge	Alaska
Not allow child to drop out	38%	21%
Use persuasion to convince child to stay in school	13	35
Punish child	10	2
Be upset or angry	12	48
Allow child to drop out	14	6
Don't know or other answer	13	8
N =	(119)	(52)

Many students report that they obtain active support at home for their school efforts in response to the question, "Does anyone at home discuss school or your homework with you?" Fifty-nine per cent of the Sioux and 65% of the Athapaskans reported that there was at least one person at home, usually a parent, who discussed school with them.

Siblings are another important source of influence and support for a number of students. In response to the above question, 20% of the Sioux and 17% of the Athapaskans said that they discussed school problems and plans with their siblings. Several students in both groups also said that a brother or sister had influenced them to stay in school.

The actual educational achievement of his siblings may also be a factor in bolstering a student's commitment to school by providing role models or perhaps through the operation of sibling rivalry. More than half the Athapaskan and Sioux students interviewed have at least one older sibling who has completed high school. (Unfortunately we do not have comparable data for those students who have not gone this far in their education, i.e., to the junior or senior year in high school, so the actual influence of older siblings in this respect cannot be measured.)

Another source of support may be the student peer group. As we described earlier, students report that they make an effort to prevent classmates from leaving school. When asked how their friends had influenced them in their own plans, many students in both Pine Ridge and Alaska said that their friends had encouraged them to stay in school or to go on with their education. In some cases students supported each other by planning to pursue similar goals. In other cases, a student's commitment to his education was reinforced by seeing the problems facing a friend who had dropped out of school.

We will now look at the attitudes expressed by teachers in relation to the students' education. In particular, we sought to discover how important the teachers think it is for the Indian students to obtain an education and how much education they feel is necessary.

Teachers were presented with several of the same questions as were the students. By comparing their answers with those of the students we can arrive at some tentative conclusions about the influence of teachers on student attitudes.

Teachers were given the following hypothetical situation in order to arrive at some estimate of the teacher's feelings about the importance of a student's completing his high school education:

> An Indian boy has shown a desire to complete high school. However, he is already one grade behind and has said that if he has to remain behind again his parents will make him drop out of school and help support the family. He has just failed an important test in your class which will determine whether or not he is to be promoted this year. What would you do in such a case?

Most teachers expressed concern with keeping the student in school. They said they would either retest the student or promote him without retesting, offering as a rationale that one test is hardly definitive. Clearly the teachers feel that academic failure and/or family needs are not important enough to cause a student to drop out of school before completing his high school education. Students faced with such a conflict, they feel, should be encouraged to remain in school. The large number of teachers in both Pine Ridge and Alaska who said that they would promote the student indicates that they are at least theoretically willing to sacrifice conventional academic standards in order to prevent students from dropping out. If the attitudes that teachers expressed in response to this question are carried over into words and action, we see a possible source of students' commitment to completing high school. A student tempted to drop out might well be encouraged to continue by his teachers.[1]

Teachers were also asked how much education they felt was necessary for an Indian student to get along well inside his home community and outside of it. The distribution for both groups of teachers is presented below.

TABLE IV-3

Amount of Education Teachers Think Students Need to Live Inside / Outside Hime Community

	Pine Ridge		Alaska	
Amount of School	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
Grade School	50%	--	50%	--
High School	21	21%	32	21%
Some Training Beyond High School	29	36	18	69
Four Years of College or More	--	43	--	10
N =	(14)	(14)	(44)	(42)

As we can readily see, teachers, like students, make a sharp distinction between training necessary for living inside and outside of the home community.

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[1] In response to the similar hypothetical situation (see p.), almost all students thought the boy should stay in school, but few students assumed that the teacher would make an exception in his case or facilitate his promotion, e.g. by allowing him to retake the test.

What is highly interesting is that the Sioux teachers' responses are skewed lower than those of their students with regard to living inside the Indian community; whereas among the Athapaskans, the teachers' responses are lower than the students' with regard to living outside the Indian community. Thus, 17 per cent of the Sioux students believed that a college education was necessary for getting along well inside their home community while none of the teachers mentioned the necessity of college. Further, 50 per cent of the teachers mentioned that a grade school education was sufficient, while only 16 per cent of the students did so. A similar discrepancy between the teachers and the students can be observed in the Athapaskan case, but here the discrepancy concerns the amount of education required for living outside of the Indian community. Thus 45 per cent of the students believed that a college education is necessary, compared with only 10 per cent of the teachers.

With respect to another hypothetical situation, teachers were asked to express their opinions on pushing a qualified student towards college if he was leaning otherwise:

> An Indian boy in your class has stated he does not want to go to college but wants to find a job as a laborer near his home. He has shown outstanding science ability and you feel that he could do well in college. What would you advise in such a case?

The types of answers differed in the two areas. Teachers in Alaska generally felt, as did the students in both groups, that anyone with any ability should be encouraged to go to college. Few teachers felt that there was any legitimate reason for wanting to be a laborer -- other than immediate financial need. Teachers in Pine Ridge (and particularly those from HRM), on the other hand, gave more tempered answers. Although many said they would encourage the student to try college, quite a few expressed the feeling that ability alone did not mean that college was a wise choice for an Indian student. Several teachers emphasized the cultural problems which might be faced by an Indian student. These teachers saw the desire to be a laborer as a legitimate goal for an Indian.

If the teachers' under-valuation of further education (relative to the valuation of students) is conveyed to their students in some subtle or not so subtle ways, then we might conclude that certain teachers are depressing the educational aspirations of their students. This would indeed seem to be unfortunate in view of the generally low level of educational attainment in the two Indian tribes, and the need for more education in order to fill the need for indigenous leadership.

Summary

In sum, we have seen that the students in both Pine Ridge and Alaska express a strong commitment toward completing their high school education and obtaining further education or training. Education, they feel, is the key to a better life and they seem willing to make sacrifices in order to obtain it. Students' receive support for their commitment to education from their family members and friends. School staff also may be influential, although it seems that the students' educational aspirations extend beyond the level advised by the teachers.

In the next chapter we shall see evidence that this commitment to education is not just empty talk among the students and that they have personal aspirations which make higher education a necessary choice.

CHAPTER V

STUDENTS' PLANS AND GOALS

This chapter will examine the educational and occupational plans of the students and some sources of influence on these plans. Stated plans for education and long-range occupational goals will be supplemented by less direct measures of vocational objectives, namely, characteristics of jobs preferred by the students and the kinds of ideal occupations they would choose. In addition, we shall discuss some implications of these plans and aspirations in terms of socio-economic mobility.

Post-High School Education Plans

In Chapter IV we saw that the students are highly committed to their secondary education, and also that they often refer to a need for additional training beyond high school. To a considerable extent, this anticipated need is reflected in their immediate educational plans.

Table V-1 shows the types and levels of education which students indicated they plan upon finishing high school. (Different questions were asked of juniors and seniors: juniors were asked, "What do you think you will do when you finish high school?" and graduating seniors were asked, "What do you plan to do next year?") To help determine whether college plans meant an academic program leading to a four-year degree or a vocational program of one to three years, juniors were asked what kind of school they planned to attend and for how many years. Seniors were asked to name the school and how many years they planned to attend.

TABLE V-1

Students' Immediate Post-Graduation Plans
by Year of High School Completed

	Sioux			
Plans	Total	Juniors	Seniors	Per Cent Difference (Jrs. vs. Srs.)
College: Two Years or Vocational Training	44%	49%	37%	-12
College: Four Years	19	12	32	+20
Armed Forces	15	15	15	0
Other (e.g. Marriage)	10	11	7	-4
Don't Know or No Answer	9	11	5	-6
Job Immediately Upon Graduation	3	3	5	+2
N =	(115)	(74)	(41)	

	Athapaskans			
Plans	Total	Juniors	Seniors	Per Cent Difference (Jrs. vs. Srs.)
College: Two Years or Vocational Training	57%	49%	75%	+33
College: Four Years	19	21	15	-6
College: Unspecified	5	7	0	-7
Armed Forces	6	9	0	-9
Don't Know or No Answer	5	5	5	0
Job Immediately Upon Graduation	8	9	5	-4
N =	(63)	(43)	(20)	

First, comparing the Sioux juniors and seniors, we see that the proportion of seniors who plan four years of college is much higher than the proportion of juniors who plan this much education. We infer that many juniors who plan only a year or two of post-high school training receive guidance and encouragement during their senior year which results in the students revising their plans upward to four years of college. This conclusion suggests that the schools play an important part in guiding students toward college during this last year of high school. Also, it may indicate that as students approach the end of their secondary education they become more realistic about the level of training that is required for certain occupations and begin to understand that two years of college or vocational training will not be sufficient if they want to enter such semi-professional occupations as teaching or nursing.

Among the Athapaskan students, this rise in the level of educational aspiration between the junior and senior years does not occur. Instead, the proportion of students who plan two years of college or vocational training increases sharply from the junior to senior years. The explanation for the choice of this lower level of education by Athapaskan students might be that the type of occupation which is most available and desirable for Athapaskans is recognized as requiring only this amount of education. In Alaska the demand for skilled labor and technologists in fields such as mining, electronics, aeronautics and construction reduces the students' motivation to pursue a lengthy academic college education. The existence of one- and two-year programs in these fields at the University of Alaska and other colleges and institutes in the state further encourages high school graduates to take advantage of opportunity to be trained within a reasonable length of time, without excessive financial strain, and near home.

It is worthy of note that half of the Sioux juniors intend to pursue vocational training of some kind. Many of these students did not specify what type of training they were seeking. For these students, the vocational training response may reflect actual indecision about their future plans, and consequently the need for further guidance. Several of the Athapaskan juniors who say that they plan to attend college, particularly those who did not specify the type of college or number of years, are perhaps speaking in response to parental or personal ideals and may also be expected to shift their plans when more guidance during their senior year increases their knowledge of existing vocational opportunities.

In summary, nearly all students in both groups plan education or training beyond high school, reflecting the high level of commitment of the students toward their education. Most students in both Indian groups plan vocational-level education rather than four years of college. Among the Sioux, however, there is an increase from the junior to senior year in the proportion of students who plan to attend college for four years, whereas among the Athapaskans, the major shift is toward one to three years of vocational or junior college training. It is suggested that the explanation for this difference between the two groups resides in local occupational opportunities: the occupational structure of Alaska offers Athapaskans jobs which can be gained without relocation or four years of college; while the Sioux must either face severely restricted job alternatives on the reservation or move to urban areas where they will face greater competition with the better-educated.

Long-Range Occupational Goals

To ascertain long-range occupational goals, students were asked what they would most like to be doing ten years from the time of the interview.

The responses, shown below, indicate that most students seek vocations at the skilled and semi-professional/technician levels. Higher level professions and, at the lower end, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs are much less frequently chosen.

TABLE V-2

Students' Long-Range Occupational Goals

	Sioux	Athapaskan
Professionals and Politics	4%	5%
Semi-Professionals and Technicians	40	39
Clerical and Sales	9	8
Blue Collar and Low-Level Managers	10	18
Unskilled and Ranching	4	2
Armed Forces	2	--
Married	7	8
Don't Know	24	18
No Answer	1	3
N =	(119)	(61)

Occupational choices understandably differ somewhat between the two Indian groups. The Sioux students do not limit their choices to jobs available on the reservation, but name occupations which cover a broad spectrum. Nevertheless, their choices tend to be concentrated in a few categories. The most frequently named occupations were teaching (14 students) and nursing (also 14 students), both classified as semi-professional level positions. Other jobs which were chosen more than once included rancher, computer work, secretary, construction work, auto mechanic, electrician, accountant, commercial artist, guidance counselor, dental assistant and armed forces careers.

Among the Athapaskans, electronics (including electrician and electronics technician) was the single most frequently chosen occupation (8 students). Like the Sioux, several Athapaskans chose nursing (7) and teaching (7). Three occupations at the professional level were each named by only one person: doctor, journalist and Native leader (politics). A higher percentage of Athapaskans than Sioux plan blue-collar jobs, generally skilled labor in the field of construction, again reflecting the greater opportunities for such jobs in Alaska. Almost a third of the Athapaskan girls replied "don't know" or "marriage" to the question of their long-range goals. All of these students do plan post-high school training, however, for careers including secretary, beautician, dental assistant and nurse. The field of interior design was chosen as a long-range goal by two girls, speech therapy by one.

Job Characteristics and Ideal Occupations

In addition to information on the immediate educational or occupational plans and long-range goals of students, the questionnaire elicited more general vocational information through two items, one dealing with job characteristics and the other with ideal occupations.

Job Characteristics. For the question on job characteristics, students were asked to think of each item as descriptive of a job and to classify the item as "very important," "important," or "not important at all." Below, the list of job characteristics is ordered according to the percentage of Sioux students who classified each item as "very important." These percentage figures are shown in the first column for the Sioux and in the second column for the Athapaskans. The third column gives the percentage difference between the two groups for each item.

TABLE V-3

Job Characteristics

		Sioux	Athapaskan	Per Cent Difference
1.	Stable and secure future*	84%	71%	13%
2.	Earn a lot of money	73	62	11
3.	Helpful to others	68	62	6
4.	Work with people	63	54	9
5.	Know what job is	60	47	13
6.	Change for adventure	59	47	12
7.	High standing and importance	45	25	20
8.	Creative and original	40	37	3
9.	Free of supervision	40	32	8
10.	Leader	38	24	14
11.	Time off	36	22	14
12.	Work alone	20	10	10
13.	Near home	14	25	-11

*See fully stated items in the Student Questionnaire found in the Appendix.

Generally, there is great congruence between the Sioux and Athapaskan students in the rank-ordering of items according to the frequency of their being designated "very important." The greatest percentage differences are found in the items high standing and importance, leadership, and time off which a much higher proportion of the Sioux students than Athapaskans consider "very important." From the first two of these items, it would seem that the Sioux students are more concerned than are the Athapaskan students with prestige factors in their work. Conversely, the Sioux are less interested in remaining near home -- probably because they are aware of the scarcity of employment opportunities on the reservation. The desire of the Sioux students to leave the reservation will be discussed at length in Chapter VI.

To a great extent, the composite picture of an occupation derived from the list of characteristics does describe the long-range occupational choices of the students. First of all, there are the concerns with a stable and secure future and with earning a lot of money. Both of these characteristics apply to jobs at the semi-professional or technician level, sought by the majority of students in both groups who named occupational goals. In comparison with what most of these students have known as children, semi-professional jobs will provide both a great deal of security and more money than is earned by more than a tiny percentage of people on the reservation or in Alaskan villages. Only slightly less frequently designated as "very important" are helpful to others and working with people. As was stated above, many students in both groups are interested in being nurses and teachers, occupations which clearly will allow them to help their communities. In addition, a number of the Athapaskan boys feel that through their jobs in construction and engineering they will be contributing to the welfare of their home communities.

Differences between boys and girls in ranking of the job characteristics follow what would be expected in any group of students: boys tend more frequently to consider money and prestige aspects very important while girls are more frequently interested in being able to work with people in their jobs.[1]

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[1] See Appendix A for rank order of job characteristics by sex.

Ideal Occupations. As a third indicator of their occupational interests, boys and girls were presented with a list of fourteen occupations from which they were asked to choose the one they would most like to hold, second most like to hold and the one that they would like least to hold. (The complete list can be found in Appendix A).

For girls, the most frequently desired ideal occupations from the list were as shown in Table V-4.

TABLE V-4

Per Cent of Girls Choosing Selected Occupations As Most Desirable

Pine Ridge		Alaska	
Nurse	35%	Nurse	27%
Social Worker	16	Teacher	19
Secretary	14		
N =	(62)	N =	(27)

The ideal occupations chosen by girls in both Indian groups are congruent with their real occupational interests and goals as already reported. In both Alaska and Pine Ridge, the girls pick jobs whose characteristics are those they consider "most important." Thus, these jobs would provide for a stable and secure future; give the opportunity to be helpful to others and work with people; and bring a fair amount of money (perhaps a lot by their standards). Choices of ideal jobs are also very similar to the actual long-range goals of the girls. Thus, in both Pine Ridge and Alaska, nursing was the occupation most frequently chosen by girls.

The occupations which the girls view as least desirable neither meet the required characteristics nor are selected as actual goals. As shown below, girls reject jobs with relatively low prestige (waitress, housewife), as well as those with unfamiliar preparation, high commitment or risk of failure, and for which there are no role models visible to them (actress, magazine editor).

TABLE V-5

Per Cent of Girls Choosing Selected Occupations as Least Desirable

Sioux		Athapaskans	
Actress	24%	Actress	19%
Housewife	18	Waitress	15
Waitress	11	Women's Magazine Editor	15
N =	(56)	N =	(27)

For the boys the picture is more varied, reflecting both a greater range of ideal occupational interests and some apparent discrepancies between these hypothetical occupations and their actual vocational plans.

TABLE V-6

Per Cent of Boys Choosing Selected Occupations as Most Desirable

Sioux		Athapaskans	
Businessman	20%	Electrician	28%
Professional Athlete	20	Professional Athlete	21
Electrician	16	Airplane Pilot	17
Lawyer	14		
N =	(56)	N =	(29)

The "most important" job characteristics are reflected less consistently in the boys' hypothetical job choices than in the girls'; that is, there are differences both in the choices between the two Indian groups and in the specific characteristics associated with the various occupations. Desirability of money and high standing and importance are clearly reflected in the ideal Sioux choices of businessman and lawyer, a combination which seems absent in the Athapaskan ideal choices. Opportunity for adventure, a "very important" job feature for a large proportion of Athapaskan boys, fits with the choice by several boys of airplane pilot, and perhaps also professional athlete. While the "glamour" occupations, pilot and athlete, are not frequently chosen as actual long-range goals, they are not without a realistic basis. In Alaska, airplane pilots are in demand, and Athapaskans do not lack role model in this field. The rejection of pilot as an actual occupational plan may be due to the expensive training required and, perhaps, to the physical danger of the job, both of which may be ignored when speaking hypothetically. The Sioux would-be athletes have an outstanding role model in Olympic runner Billy Mills, a Pine Ridge Sioux. In addition, most boys in both tribes who choose this ideal occupation have participated heavily in athletics, so that while they may not actually plan such a career, they have some basis in reality for their dream.

In both Indian groups, electrician is a frequent choice, both as an ideal occupation and as an actual long-range plan. In contrast to other ideal jobs, characterized in part by either high prestige or adventure, electrician offers very different job features: a secure and stable future and the ability to know what your job is, both important to a large proportion of the boys in both Indian groups.

As shown in Table V-7, Sioux boys reject both low prestige or tedious occupations (bus driver and factory worker) while boys in both groups agree on their lack of interest in becoming enforcers of law or morality as missionaries or policemen, though there are role models for these two occupations in both Indian groups.

TABLE V-7

Per Cent of Boys Choosing Selected Occupations as Least Desirable

Pine Ridge		Alaska	
Policeman	20%	Missionary	25%
Bus Driver	14	Policeman	17
Missionary	14		
Factory Worker	13		
N =	(53)	N =	(29)

To summarize these vocational data, the several job characteristics which the largest percentages of students in both Indian groups considered "very important" describe many of the jobs chosen by students as long-range goals. Though the two groups are in high agreement on the rank-ordering of the job characteristics, there are two types of differences: first, in all but one instance, a higher proportion of Sioux than of Athapaskans classify the characteristics as "very important," perhaps indicating either a stronger concern among the Sioux than Athapaskans with obtaining more kinds of satisfaction directly from their jobs, or a tendency for the Sioux to make the strongest possible affirmative response (rather than the more mild alternativ "somewhat important") to this type of question; second, prestige (high standing and importance) ranks higher among job features for Sioux than for Athapaskans. The latter are more concerned with being able to stay near their home communities, suggesting again that the Sioux expect to achieve more satisfaction directly from their jobs, while Athapaskans are more concerned with obtaining jobs which will allow them to maintain or to achieve more satisfaction from sources outside their jobs.

Influence on Student Plans and Goals

Students were asked whether they had discussed each of four types of post-high school plans (jobs, Employment Assistance, military service, and college) with anyone at home or at school. The persons with whom they held these discussions were classified as "person at home"; "school staff," including teachers, principal and guidance counselors; and "outside speakers," such as BIA official, Army recruiting officer, or college representative. Figures are presented in Table V-8 below.

The figures for jobs indicate that about two-thirds of the Athapaskan students and over half the Sioux have discussed jobs, most of them with school staff members. In another question concerning what students talk about with teachers, 20% of the Sioux report that they have discussed "vocational plans" with teachers, though only 10% of the Athapaskans said that they had discussed such plans.

TABLE V-8

Source of Persons with Whom Students Discussed
Four Major Types of Post-High School Plans

	Type of Plan			
	Jobs	Employment Assistance	Military Service	College
Athapaskans				
TOTAL	68%	28%	45%	85%
Home	17	8	17	45
School staff	42	5	10	50
Outside speakers	15	17	18	8
N =	(60)	(60)	(60)	(60)
Sioux				
TOTAL	56%	45%	43%	70%
Home	26	8	22	42
School staff	33	14	9	32
Outside speakers	10	23	16	8
N =	(119)	(119)	(119)	(119)

The topic of Employment Assistance, reportedly discussed by a third of the Athapaskan students and half the Sioux, is generally introduced by BIA officials who speak regularly at all the schools.[2]

Military service is discussed more frequently at home than at school, particularly among the Sioux. Some students in both Indian groups regard military service as an unavoidable duty while others, both male and female, view it as an alternative means of obtaining vocational training or life experience.

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[2] Employment Assistance is a program operated by the BIA which offers Indians the opportunity to receive training or employment in certain urban centers, providing payment for transportation for the Indian (and any wife or children) from the home community to the city, certain initial orientation, counseling and placement services in the city.

College is reportedly discussed by the largest percentage of students in both groups, 90% of the Athapaskans and 70% of the Sioux, which figures far exceed the proportions which plan to attend college.[3] One explanation for this discrepancy is that many discussions about college take place with students' family members, many of whom idealize college education and who have little actual knowledge either of the student's ability and academic preparation or of the actual benefits and demands of four years of academic work. (The figures in Table V-8 show that about half of college discussions take place at home. Most of these discussions are with parents.) We can expect that many of these discussions with parents do not take account of a number of relevant factors since most parents have little contact with the secondary schools and have relatively limited education themselves. In Alaska, the parents' interest in college education for their children seems to exceed the amount of adequate preparation in secondary schools (see discussion in Chapter II). Also, parental expectations exceed the primary goals of students and the vocational opportunities which are available to them (see earlier sections in this chapter and Chapter VI).

An alternative explanation is that the schools do not develop the students' latent interest in college programs. Several facts about the Athapaskan students suggest that the schools do not strongly encourage students to plan a fully academic higher education. Most students in the upper half of their class do not plan four years of college; and, as was mentioned earlier, the number of students who do plan an academic degree program diminishes from the junior to senior year. School guidance appears to encourage the technical college program rather than the academic one, even for many of the clearly superior students. However, there is no clear evidence among the Sioux for this explanation.

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[3] In using the word "college," Athapaskan students tend not to distinguish between academic and technical 1-2 year programs. Some of this 90%, then, can be attributed to the technical meaning and therefore the per cent of students who actually discuss academic college should be considered to be somewhat lower.

In addition to this information about discussions, we have the students' own reports about who has influenced their post-high school plans. The tables below give the responses of juniors and seniors in both Indian groups to the question, "Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most about your plans for next year? [Seniors] /for what you will do after high school [Juniors]?"

TABLE V-9

Persons Reported by Students as Most Influential in Their Post-High School Plans, According to Year in School

Persons Most Influential	Athapaskans		Sioux	
	Juniors	Seniors	Juniors	Seniors
Parents	16%	15%	43%	41%
Siblings	14	10	4	10
Other relatives	14	5	8	13
Teachers	5	15	8	--
Other school staff	14	10	14	15
Others	12	15	--	3
Friends	5	--	1	3
No one or "myself"	21	30	15	15
N =	(43)	(20)	(73)	(39)

A large minority of students, particularly Athapaskans, do not mention any influence from others on their plans as indicated by the figures for the response "no one or myself." This response obviously reflects their reluctance toward admitting influence rather than the absence of influence. The Sioux figures show that dominant sources of influence change little from the junior to senior years. Parents are consistently most influential for a large percentage of students. The relatively high percentage for "other school staff" reflects the role of the guidance counselors in the schools.

The picture is quite different for the Athapaskans, particularly in the changes in dominant influence between the junior and senior years. Teachers are much more influential for seniors than for juniors, which is further evidence that teachers play an important role in determining the students' choice of one kind of post-high school education over another. The dominant influence of parents, siblings and other relatives, though never so high as among the Sioux, diminishes from the junior to senior classes, suggesting that the final stage of guidance takes place in the school rather than in the home.

Though few students in either group attributed to their friends a dominant influence on their plans, when asked directly how their friends' decisions have influenced their own plans, 15% of the Sioux and 20% of the Athapaskans said that friends had specifically influenced their post-high school plans.[4] Though students are hesitant to state that their friends have had much of an influence, their plans are often also those of their closest friends. Some of this congruence, of course, is by chance: the students, in general -- because of the limitations of the guidance program, financial problems or desire to attend school near home -- choose to attend a limited number of schools. It is also clear, however, that students do discuss their plans with their friends and often try to attend the same schools or to be admitted to the same programs. One-fourth of the Sioux seniors and 40% of the Athapaskan graduates are planning the same school or training program next year as their friends are.

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[4] Another 21% of the Sioux said that a friend had influenced them to either stay in school or go on in school.

Among other questions in the interview which asked students about influence, one dealt with the influence of any jobs they had held. One-fourth of the Sioux and half the Athapaskan students who had held a job said that this had influenced -- either positively or negatively -- their feelings about the type of job that they would like to hold in the future.

In summary, a variety of questions asked of students indicate that they receive most of their information about jobs and post-high school education from the schools, though most students attribute the major influence on their actual decisions to family members. Such findings suggest that students might benefit from a program to provide parents with vocational information, particularly on colleges and job training opportunities.

Aspirations for Upward Mobility

As was seen earlier, many students choose occupations at the semi-professional-technician level or better. Even when shown a list of ideal occupations, students generally select those at a relatively high level and express distaste for low prestige occupations such as factory worker or waitress.

Preference for relatively high level occupations can be seen as manifesting concern with personal upward mobility. The real significance of this mobility is made more evident when students' goals are seen in the light of the employment and occupational levels of their families. As was shown in Chapter II, more than half the students come from families where the male head of the household is not currently employed; therefore, for the students even to aspire to an occupation is a step upward. Those fathers who *are* employed generally hold low-prestige jobs as unskilled laborers. The occupational objective of students are consistently higher than that of unskilled labor.

In addition to selecting occupations which offer them a fairly high social standing when presented with a list of desirable job characteristics the students frequently mentioned *stable and secure future* and *earn a lot of money*. In short, financial independence and security are clearly primary goals for these students, most of whom have grown up without these assets. It should also be noted that security is more important than prestige, as shown by the much lower ranking of *high standing and importance*.

This desire for personal upward mobility is manifested in other ways as well. Girls were asked how much education they wanted their husbands to have. Among the Sioux, none said that they would be satisfied with anything less than a high school education in a mate. One-fourth said that they wanted their husbands to complete college, another fourth wanted at least some college, and half said that a high school education was sufficient. The Athapaskan picture is somewhat different, probably partly due to the more recent interest in college education. Of twenty-nine Athapaskan girls, six said either that they didn't care how much education their husband had or that some high school was enough. On the other hand, nine wanted a husband to have finished college, seven wanted at least some college, and six wanted their husband to have completed high school.

Several items in the questionnaire present hypothetical situations in which a response involves choosing an action reflecting an upwardly mobile orientation _versus_ one which would inhibit such achievement opportunity, e.g. tradition, family or community ties. At the same time, the former alternative involves leaving home while the latter one allows the possibility of staying at home.

As we shall see, the vast majority of the Sioux choose the alternatives of achievement or leaving home, both in order to "get ahead" and to avoid problems they see in reservation life. In contrast, the Athapaskans seem to feel that the most important factor in their decisions is doing what one personally wants rather than any specific motivation such as "getting ahead."

These results are based on the responses to three hypothetical questions. The first hypothetical situation pits opportunity and mobility against tradition and the family:

> A fullblood Indian girl is about to graduate from high school and wants to move to a city and find a job. Her parents want to keep her at home where she can be near them and where she can carry on the more traditional way of life.

The students were asked what they would do if they were the girl. Among the Sioux, 81% felt that the girl should go to the city; among the Athapaskans, 66%. Some Sioux stressed positive motivations for leaving, e.g. to get a job, to be on her own, the opportunities offered by the city; while others emphasized the negative motivation of "getting away." Athapaskan students stressed the chance to find a good job, the experience, and the idea that if this is what the girl wants to do, "she should go even if it means going against her parents."

The second situation posed a conflict between leadership at home or helping the community, on the one hand, and money and advancement away from home, on the other:

> A boy who does well in school and who is a good leader does not know if he should stay in his village to become the head of a Community Action Project or if he should accept a job with a manufacturing company far away from home that will pay him a lot.

Asked what they would do if they were the boy, 45% of the Sioux said that they would take the job, half of whom gave the simple reason that he could make more money by working for the manufacturing company. Again, both positive and negative motivations for leaving were mentioned. In contrast, only 25% of the Athapaskans chose the company job. For most Athapaskans, even the top job characteristic of "money" was not sufficient bait to lure them far away from home. Of the almost 70% who said they would stay at home, nearly all added the phrase, "and help the community." We cannot tell from this item, unfortunately, how "helping the community" would stand up against a job with more desirable characteristics. In this question, the ambivalence of the boy's attitude did allow students' responses to reflect more clearly their own preferences.

The third situation presented a clear choice between a low status job near home and the possibility of much greater upward mobility:

> An Indian boy has said that he doesn't want to go to college even though he has been a very good student and gets A's in science. He has said he wants to find a job as a rancher or construction worker near his home.

Sioux students strongly favored college (82%) over manual labor (18%). Their reasons ranged from comments that there would be no future in manual labor to the conviction that it would be "better to go to college" or that going to college would open up opportunities to earn more money. Athapaskans' responses expressed more ambivalence. Approximately half chose the college alternative, but another fourth said either that he must make his own decision or that he should do something else, such as take courses to become more than a regular construction worker. Some students solved the dilemma of their own ambivalence by saying that the boy should do what he wanted, but that the student himself would go to college, or that the boy should try construction at least until he realized that he would rather go to college. Almost half of those who chose college gave no reason, suggesting that they had accepted the idea because they felt it was the best or right thing to do, though they preferred not to examine the question too personally; the remainder said that college would mean a better job and future.

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Responses to these hypothetical questions reinforce the picture of greater concern among the Sioux with upward mobility shown in the students' educational plans, ideal occupations, and desired job characteristics. In all three hypothetical situations, the Sioux students tend much more than the Athapaskans to choose the alternative which will increase their chances for advancement -- going to a city, more money, a higher status job, higher education. Whereas the desire of Athapaskan students for a good job and financial security is more often balanced with other values, Sioux are more single-minded in their pursuit of vocational opportunity and success. Some of the reasons for this noteworthy difference between the two groups will be examined in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

WHERE STUDENTS PLAN TO LIVE

A major interest of this study is to investigate to what extent there is movement of the educated, upwardly mobile students away from their home communities, and to study some of the factors related to this movement.[1] Obviously, students who are only juniors or seniors in high school cannot really tell where they will live the rest of their lives. Therefore, the answers they give to a question asking them where they will live should be taken as attitudes, not as predictions. However, since their statements reflect their desires to prepare for and to achieve their occupational objectives, it is possible that their residential plans will be implemented.

Two Types of Mobility

For both Indian groups, geographical mobility is a cause for concern, though the nature and implications of the mobility are very different for each. For the Sioux, a critical problem is the extent to which movement off the reservation to urban centers leaves the Indian community without the much needed knowledge, skills and potential leadership of its educated young people. The Sioux problem is a common one among reservation Indians and is recognized as critical by both the Indians and government agencies.

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[1] Two meanings of the word community are used in this discussion: one refers to the specific village, town or city which is the student's home; the other refers to the politically or geographically defined unit which constitutes the commonly accepted "home ground" of the group. These meanings will be distinguished as they are used in the text.

For the Athapaskans, mobility away from the broader Indian community, which for them loosely comprises most of the state of Alaska, is not significant: few Athapaskans leave Alaska for longer than three or four years of work or training, and no students in the study plan to live outside the state. Rather, the problem concerns movement within the broader Indian community, specifically from village to urban center. The crucial mobility question is the extent to which movement of young, especially better educated, people from the smaller villages to the larger urban centers within Alaska is actually resulting in the loss of human resources which may be necessary to the viability and even survival of these Indian village communities. Though the actual consequences of this mobility are not entirely clear, the mere possibility of a drain on these small village populations poses severe problems for meeting immediate as well as future needs in such areas as education, economic development, health, communication and transportation, and land ownership and control.

The mobility patterns for the two groups will be discussed separately. Our primary purpose is to examine the extent to which the emigration of students from the reservation, in the Sioux case, or from the villages, in the Athapaskan case, deprives these communities of the various skills, knowledge and special abilities possessed by high school graduates and especially those who intend to receive a college education. For this purpose, we will introduce data to indicate whether specific occupations or different occupational levels are being lost to the Indian communities.

Sioux. Only 14% of the Pine Ridge students said that they expect to live the rest of their lives in or around the reservation. Most of the other students simply answered that they expected to live "off the reservation," although several did specify a place, for instance California, Denver, or "a city."

With regard to the specific occupational goals they have selected, the Sioux students who expect to live on the reservation do not differ significantly from those who plan to leave the reservation. As shown in Table VI-1, they are somewhat more likely to choose to be ranchers or farm workers, occupations suited to reservation life, and somewhat less likely to aspire to professional status. On the whole, however, their occupational choices are proportionately very similar to those of the students who are planning to leave the reservation.

TABLE VI-1

Occupational Choices of Sioux Students
by Where They Plan to Live*

Occupational Choice	Plan to Live at Home	Plan to Live Off Reservation
Professional	--	5%
Semi-professional/technician	64	58
Manager, blue-collar skilled	14	15
Clerical	8	15
Farm or ranch work	14	--
Other	--	8
Totals	100%	101%
Number of students who stated an occupational goal	(14)	(66)
Number of students who did not state an occupational goal	(3)	(36)

*Percentages are based on the number of students who stated an occupational goal.

Most of the students who plan to live on the Reservation, when asked why they were planning to stay gave as their reason that the Reservation was "home." As one student said, "I lived here all my life, and I don't think I can leave." Some students specified further with such answers as "I want to stay with the family," or ". . . because I want to be among my own kind of people." Only three students specified that they were planning to stay to help the tribe: one of them wants to be a nurse, another a social worker, the third a teacher.

Although the occupational choices of those planning to leave the Reservation are similar to those of the students planning to remain, in simple numerical terms the potential loss to the Reservation is great. Further, the great majority of students in each occupational group are planning to leave.

To a great extent, the Sioux students' decisions to leave the Reservation are determined by their interest in finding a well-paying job and their assessments that few opportunities are currently available on the Reservation. Almost half of the students (45%) say that they want to leave because there are no jobs on the Reservation, and they would have a better chance somewhere else. Typical responses to the question, "Why do you want to leave?" were: "more money and better jobs," "to get a better job," "I won't get anywhere around here," "because I'd get a better job in a city," "can't get a job here." Another 27% of the students said that conditions on the reservation are too bad, that there is nothing for them to do there, nothing to hold them.

For some students the realization that more jobs are available away from home is intensified by a fear of being held back either by the conditions on the reservation or by the fact of its being a small community. For instance, one student said she wanted to leave, "Because if I stayed around here I'd become an alcoholic," while another said "to do what I want to do and nobody to influence me."

That the lack of opportunities for advancement is a major reason for students wanting to leave their home communities becomes even clearer when we study the responses to the question: "What kind of changes would be needed before you would want to stay in the community?" Over half of the students named an increase in the number of available jobs as the primary requirement for a change of decision. (Other students added such changes as better housing, better schools -- "so kids could have a better chance" -- better tribal government, more recreation, better police force.) Clearly, the students are responding realistically to what they see on the reservation. Many of these students are going to be capable of earning a good salary and holding a full-time job, and there is little room at present for fulfillment of such aspirations within the context of the reservation.

Further, the students do not see great potential for change in reservation conditions in the immediate future. When asked how they thought their tribe would be living in 25 years, many students responded that things would be "the same." Typical comments were, "Probably be the same -- the tribe will still live here. There haven't been any changes, and I think everything will be the same"; "About the same -- everybody will still be on relief"; and "Probably still be a reservation, knowing the Indians -- how slow they are." Those students who did anticipate changes saw them in terms of specifics -- more jobs, more industry, better homes.

Although the concern with upward mobility is the most clearly expressed reason given by students for wanting to leave the reservation, there are other concerns affecting this decision as well. One of these is a curiosity about a life which promises to be richer and fuller than that in Pine Ridge. Students were asked if they would ever like to live in a large city, and if so, why. Although most students who said that they were interested in living in a large city gave as a reason the chance to find a job, a number of students added that they would like to meet a lot of people, have the experience of city life, and live where there would be excitement and things to do.

Frequently, students expressed great bitterness when they discussed their reasons for wanting to leave the reservation. One reason for this bitterness might be the fear, mentioned above, that they themselves could be dragged down by reservation life if they chose to remain there. The bitterness could also be a result of anger at having to make a choice between staying or leaving. The decision to leave probably does not come easily, and it may well be accompanied by much fear and anxiety. Although life on the reservation may have been very difficult for these students, it is the only life and the only home most of them have known.

The students are aware that it is hard for an Indian to make the grade off the reservation; and indeed, it seems that many Indians who leave, whether it is through an Employment Assistance program or an independent attempt to find a job, eventually return. As one student phrased it, "No one can get away from here for long, all of them that leaves comes back." The students are probably afraid that they too will meet with what they consider to be failure. They may also feel some guilt for leaving their people behind while working towards their own personal advancement.

Athapaskans. In contrast to the Sioux, more than a third (36 per cent) of the Athapaskan students intend to return to their home communities to live[2] (see Table VI-2). One might expect that students from small villages would be the least likely to plan to live permanently in their home communities, because the number and variety of jobs there are severely restricted as compared with those in cities or even in the larger villages or towns. Yet the proportion of students who plan to remain at home is actually higher for those from small villages (43 per cent) than for those from the larger villages (35 per cent) or the cities (18 per cent). The potential loss of educated youth to the small Athapaskan communities is therefore much less severe than for the Sioux Reservation as a whole.

TABLE VI-2

Whether Athapaskan Students Plan to Live at Home, by Type of Home Community

Student Plans to Live at Home:	Type of Home Community Village	Town	City	Total
Yes	43%	35%	18%	36%
No	57	65	82	64
N =	(30)	(20)	(11)	(61)

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[2] All students responded that they planned to live somewhere in Alaska. Only those who stated that they definitely planned to live "in or near" their home community (village, town or city) were counted as returning.

The decision to live in the home community appears to be based on two types of interests: job opportunities and the appeal of the traditional life style. The figures in Table VI-3 suggest that the greater job opportunities in the cities and larger communities are not as important to the residents of small villages as is the desirability of the traditional village way of life. Some evidence for this preference for village life over other styles is found in the most common reasons given by students for their planning to live at home. Some examples are: "Life is better there"; "There's not too many people"; "There's more to do like fishing and hunting"; "I want to be near the people from home"; "In a village you could be a leader -- it's harder in a city." The last comment reflects less an interest in becoming socially prominent than a desire to "help my people" in a direct way. Several students expressed the desire to follow an occupation which would involve helping their people. Three of these students plan to be teachers in their home communities. In fact, the specific jobs chosen by most of the students who plan to return home to live are ones which are the most possible as well as needed in remote areas -- teaching, nursing, construction, and electronics.

Students from villages who do not plan to live at home, or are undecided, are more frequently concerned with the difficulty of finding a good job in the community than they are with negative characteristics of village life. Only a very few students cited the isolation, boredom, and inadequate facilities for transportation, communication and entertainment in the villages as reasons for their intention to live elsewhere. Students from the cities, nearly all of whom do not plan specifically to live at home, are much less likely to feel strong ties to their home community, partly because all have lived in other places as well.

A number of the students who do not plan to live at home want to pursue occupations, particularly in the semi-professional-technician category, similar to those of students who plan to live in villages; but they feel that their chances of finding a job in their home village are small. Others plan occupations which are available only or primarily in larger communities, e.g., journalism, interior design, small business, beautician, and clerical work. These differences and similarities in occupational levels chosen by Athapaskan students according to where they plan to live are shown in Table VI-3.

TABLE VI-3

Occupational Choices of Athapaskan Students
by Where They Plan to Live*

Occupational Level	Plan to Live at Home	Plan to Live Elsewhere
Semi-professional/technician	57%	55%
Manager, blue-collar skilled	33	18
Clerical	--	18
Other	10	10
Totals	100%	101%
Number of students who stated an occupational goal	(21)	(22)
Number of students who did not state an occupational goal	(1)	(17)

One additional point of contrast between the two groups is that virtually all (96 per cent) the students who plan to live at home stated long-range vocational goals, whereas only 56 per cent of those who plan to live elsewhere (or are indefinite) stated such goals. Some of those who are indefinite on both issues are girls who expect marriage to decide the matter for them while other students feel too much conflict between where they wish to live and their occupational interests to have resolved either issue.

In sum, Athapaskan students who plan to live in their home communities appear to have succeeded in matching their vocational and home community interests, whereas those students who plan to live elsewhere have generally found the smaller communities lacking in opportunities for employment or social activity, and many are having difficulty making either type of plan. Though there are some differences in the occupational choices between the two groups, those who plan to live in their home communities are not seeking jobs at lower levels of skill or prestige than those students who will live elsewhere.

Finally, the pessimism of many Sioux students toward the future of their communities and general living conditions of the tribe is not shared by most Athapaskans. Almost all of the students who commented on the expected quality of life for the tribe in 25 years believed that changes for the better would be forthcoming. In particular, they predicted technical improvements, such as electricity, better homes and roads, and they expected more jobs in the villages as well as in the larger communities.

A specific question concerning the future of the villages elicited a more complicated pattern of response. Though the majority predicted the continued existence of the village communities in Alaska, a number said that many younger people would leave for larger communities or that some villages would disappear while others grew in population. Comments generally suggested that better job opportunities and good location were the most important determinants of the future of any given village.

To summarize, the Sioux community faces a serious problem in the potential loss of more than 80 per cent of its high school graduates who plan to live away from the reservation. Sioux students' plans to live off the reservation most of their lives does not mean that many will not, in fact, return to Pine Ridge at some time. Their current rejection of reservation life, however, must be viewed not only as a deliberate response to years of personal deprivation, but also as a commitment to pursue certain goals at the cost of ties with their people, the tradition, and the life of their home community.

In contrast, all of the Athapaskan students plan to live somewhere in Alaska, which means that they will continue to participate in, and might even contribute to, the larger Athapaskan community. Also, a third of the Athapaskan students plan to remain in their home villages. The availability of suitable employment in Alaska and even in several of their home communities, in contrast to the the lack of such opportunities for the Sioux on the reservation, is largely responsible for the Athapaskan students having little reason to pursue their vocational goals away from their people.

Though the Sioux students' decisions appear conflict-ridden, a series of factors both pulling and pushing them away from the reservation appear to dominate. The strength of the Sioux students' commitment to occupational upward mobility is a major consideration drawing them to places which offer greater opportunities for employment. In addition to the poor economic situation, there are social conditions on the reservation (particularly drinking) which motivate the students to escape while they still have the option. Finally, the Sioux students' despair about such conditions on the reservation, and their sense of hopelessness in overcoming the obstacles to improvement, turns them away from goals of service to the Sioux community and toward those of success in White Man's society. The Athapaskans, with less emphasis on upward mobility and greater optimism about bettering the conditions in both their village communities and the state, are neither as severely torn by conflict of values nor as doubtful of their own ability. Thus, they are more inclined to effect positive change in their home communities and in Alaska. Thus, as we shall see in Chapter VII, aspiration to community leadership is compatible with occupational goals as well as with other values among the Athapaskans. But among the Sioux, such aspiration generates conflict among goals.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP

In this and the following chapters we have several goals in mind which derive from both substantive and methodological interests. Our substantive interests are twofold: 1) identification of students in the study who show the greatest likelihood of becoming leaders and 2) an indication of how schools can offer preparation for leadership. Our methodological interest is suggesting ways to measure leadership potential.

First, we will suggest several measures of leadership potential which reflect different aspects of preparation for leadership. We will introduce four measures: two of qualification for leadership -- one academic and one social; one measure of interest, and one of plans.[1] Second, we will suggest how these measures can be combined to create a typology of potential leadership. Third, we will employ this typology to identify specific individuals within the two Indian populations who show the greatest leadership potential and will present profiles of these individuals. Finally, we will engage in deviant case analysis to explain why some individuals possess three but are missing the fourth characteristic which would give them full leadership potential.

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[1] Plans refers to an additional qualification for leadership indicated by the student's intention to pursue educational or vocational goals which would help him to assume a leadership role; it does not refer directly to plans to assume a leadership role.

In this chapter we will define the measures of leadership potential and show the relationships between them, working up to the presentation of a leadership typology derived from a four-variable table. Here much of the emphasis will be on the comparison between the two populations under study and, more specifically, a comparison of the relationships between the variables. In Chapter VIII we will turn to case studies of individuals with high potential for leadership and deviant case analyses.

Aspiration to Leadership

Ideas About Leadership

A first step in identifying potential leaders is to find out which students actually have an interest in becoming leaders in their Indian communities. It seems clear that unless a student expresses a specific interest in serving his people in a leadership capacity he cannot, at this point, be considered as showing full potential for leadership.

The question asked of students to identify aspiring leaders was, "Do you hope someday to become a leader in your community?" A context for this question was provided by several items which preceded it. Interviewers read all respondents an abbreviated version of our working definition of community leader (see Introduction, page v). They were then asked both to name and describe people they considered to be leaders in their own communities and to check characteristics they felt a leader should have. Responses to these questions provided information both on the type of formal position or occupation in the community held by people considered to be leaders (within the context of our general description) and on the type of qualities or skills considered by students to be most vital to Indian leadership.

Many "leaders" named by students did hold formal leadership positions within the tribal or local community, e.g. chief or member of tribal council (Sioux -- 55%; Athapaskan -- 60%), but a relatively large proportion were informal leaders who were either engaged in teaching, service, or religious occupations or were personally esteemed though not currently elected officials (Sioux -- 39%; Athapaskans -- 23%). Though most "leaders" were Indian, a number were white (Sioux -- 10%; Athapaskans -- 19%), suggesting that many Indians still do not feel that they control their own communities or that Whites do in fact still provide some of the active leadership in Indian communities.

From the list of possible leadership characteristics shown in Table VII-1, students in both groups most frequently checked "Knows Indian problems" and, second, "Speaks and writes English well." These two characteristics suggest that young Indians are concerned that their leaders understand their needs and goals, on the one hand, and be able to deal effectively with Whites, on the other. It is also interesting that these characteristics emphasize demonstrable abilities rather than formal criteria or certification. There is some contrast between the groups in the order of frequency for the item "Has college education," ranked fifth by the Sioux and ninth by the Athapaskans. Apparently, then, the Sioux have begun to place greater stress on college education as preparation for leadership, whereas many Athapaskans are still only concerned that a leader complete high school (ranked fourth). A consequence of the Sioux emphasis on college-educated leaders may be an increase in the number of radical leaders since much of the new radical Indian leadership has developed on college campuses. In contrast, if Athapaskan leadership continues to be non-college educated, this source of radicalism will be absent.

TABLE VII-1

List of Leadership Characteristics

Knows Indian problems
Speaks and writes English well
Knows Indian language
Has experience outside of native community
Has college education
Has high school education
Knows a lot about white society
Has lived long in one community
Has been a leader in school activities
Is popular among classmates

The proportion of students in the two groups who aspire to leadership as indicated by the interview question is 19% (23 students) for the Sioux and 37% (22 students) for the Athapaskans. The much lower per cent of Sioux students who aspire probably reflects the deep conflicts regarding remaining on the reservation which were described in Chapter VI.

Before discussing how aspiration to leadership relates to the other three measures of leadership potential, we will provide some background information on those students who aspire to leadership. First, we will discuss the assimilation characteristics of families from which aspiring students come. Attitudes of aspiring students toward the preservation of their traditional culture will be compared with those attitudes of non-aspiring students. Finally, aspiring students will be compared with non-aspiring students on their concern with certain occupational characteristics associated with leadership.

Aspiration and Background Characteristics

Students in both Alaska and Pine Ridge who aspire to leadership are likely to come from families which are well integrated into the Indian community in terms of blood and home. In both cases, the students who aspire to leadership are more likely to be Full Bloods (see Table VII-2) and are more likely to come from the more traditional communities -- in the Sioux case, they come from villages rather than the town of Pine Ridge, and in the Athapaskan case, they come from villages and towns rather than from cities (see Table VII-3).

In the case of the Sioux aspiring Leaders, there are two other indications that they come from the less assimilated families. First, their parents are more likely to participate in the traditional dances than are the parents of non-aspirants. (Among the Athapaskans there is little or no difference in parents' participation.) (See Table VII-4.) In addition, the families of Sioux aspiring Leaders are less likely to have lived off the reservation than the families of non-aspirants. (See Table VII-5.) Thus we find that aspiration to leadership seems to be related to a background of traditionalism in both the Sioux and Athapaskan cases. In the case of the Sioux students, leadership aspiration seems also to be associated with limited experience, suggested by the fact that students who have lived off the reservation at some time are less likely to aspire.

TABLE VII-2

Per Cent of Students Who Aspire to Leadership by Blood

Sioux	Blood: Mixed	Blood: Full	Athapaskans	Blood: Mixed	Blood: Full
Student Aspires	13%	24%	Student Aspires	30%	46%
N =	(55)	(54)	N =	(33)	(26)

TABLE VII-3

Per Cent of Students Who Aspire to Leadership by Home

Sioux	Home: Pine Ridge	Home: Villages	Athapaskans	Home: City	Home: Town	Home: Villages
Student Aspires	11%	26%	Student Aspires	25%	40%	38%
N =	(54)	(58)	N =	(8)	(20)	(32)

TABLE VII-4

Per Cent of Students Who Aspire to Leadership by Whether Parents Participate in Traditional Activities

Sioux	Parents Participate		Athapaskans	Parents Participate	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Student Aspires	28%	15%	Student Aspires	43%	33%
N =	(43)	(71)	N =	(28)	(21)

TABLE VII-5

Per Cent of Sioux Students Who Aspire to Leadership by Location of All Places Lived

	Location of All Places Lived	
	Off and On Reservation	On Reservation Only
Student Aspires	15%	23%
N =	(60)	(59)

When we relate aspiring to leadership to the current beliefs and practices of the students we find a sharp difference between the two populations. Among the Athapaskan students, family integration is carried over in terms of both current activities and beliefs. Athapaskan students who aspire to leadership are more likely to take part in traditional customs than are their peers without this aspiration, as seen in Table VII-6, and they are more likely to prefer to be taught by Indians (see Table VII-7). They are also more likely to feel that the Indian customs and traditions should be perpetuated. More frequently than non-aspirants they want their children to know the Indian language (Table VII-8), they think that Indian students should be taught more about their own culture (Table VII-9), and they would encourage their children to take part in the traditional activities (Table VII-10).

Among the Sioux students, aspiring to leadership is unrelated to all except one of the characteristics specified above, i.e. encourage children to participate. (There are slight positive relationships, but they are very small. The one negative relationship -- between aspiring to leadership and wanting children to know the Indian language -- is based on too few cases to draw any conclusions from it.) The reason Sioux students would encourage their children to take part in the traditional customs may be that although the aspiring Sioux students do not feel that the traditions and customs are particularly important and do not, themselves, actively participate in them, they may recognize that a leader would have to behave publicly in a way which would illustrate some integration into the traditional life of the community. The participation of his own children in the dances and ceremonies could serve this symbolic function.

TABLE VII-6

Per Cent of Students Who Participate in Traditional Activities by Whether or Not They Aspire

Sioux	Student Aspires		Athapaskans	Student Aspires	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Student Participates	26%	20%	Student Participates	62%	40%
N =	(23)	(94)	N =	(21)	(35)

TABLE VII-7

Per Cent of Students Who Prefer to Be Taught by Indians According to Whether or Not They Aspire

Sioux	Student Aspires		Athapaskans	Student Aspires	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Prefer to Be Taught by Indians	39%	34%	Prefer to Be Taught by Indians	60%	31%
N =	(23)	(94)	N =	(20)	(36)

TABLE VII-8

Per Cent of Students Who Would Teach Their Children the Indian Language by Whether or Not They Aspire

Sioux	Student Aspires		Athapaskans	Student Aspires	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Would Teach Children Indian	69%	82%	Would Teach Children Indian	40%	29%
N =	(13)	(49)	N =	(15)	(34)

TABLE VII-9

Per Cent of Students Who Think More Indian Culture Should Be Taught in School by Whether or Not They Aspire

Sioux			Athapaskans		
	Student Aspires			Student Aspires	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Think More Culture Should Be Taught	86%	80%	Think More Culture Should Be Taught	91%	66%
N =	(22)	(90)	N =	(22)	(35)

TABLE VII-10

Per Cent of Students Who Would Encourage Their Children to Participate in Traditional Activities by Whether or Not They Aspire

Sioux			Athapaskans		
	Student Aspires			Student Aspires	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Would Encourage Children to Participate	70%	57%	Would Encourage Children to Participate	85%	50%
N =	(23)	(93)	N =	(20)	(32)

In sum, then, we find differences in the backgrounds of Sioux and Athapaskan students who aspire to leadership. Although Sioux students are more likely to come from traditional families, they seem unconcerned with the perpetuation of the traditional culture. They have not clearly rejected the traditional aspects of community life, but a concern with them does not seem to be associated with aspiration for leadership. On the other hand, Athapaskan students who say that they would like to be leaders are also very concerned about the loss of their customs, perhaps because both interests are a part of a growing ethnic self-consciousness among Athapaskans. The current interest in leadership, particularly among younger Athapaskans, is closely tied to the recently recognized problem of Alaskan Native Land Claims. Attempts by Athapaskans to preserve their "rights" have required more cooperation and formal organization than had previously existed among these people, one consequence of which has been development of a greater consciousness of their identity. Concern with preservation of aspects of their cultural heritage may be understood as part of this growing consciousness. Furthermore, since the land can be considered part of this heritage, the two concerns are essentially one. Interest in leadership for Athapaskans is thus closely tied to concern for preserving those things, both land and culture, which belong to them as a distinct people.

Among the list of occupational characteristics, discussed in Chapter V, there are five which are associated specifically with leadership as well as with certain types of occupational roles. These characteristics are as follows: gives you an opportunity to work with people rather than with things; gives you an opportunity to be helpful to others; gives you a chance to be a leader; gives you high standing and importance; lets you stay near home.

In Tables VII-11 and VII-12 we compare the frequency of students aspiring to leadership who designated each characteristic as "very important" with the frequency of non-aspiring students who did so. For Sioux students, four characteristics were more frequently considered "very important" by those students who aspire than by those who do not aspire. The differences in frequency are particularly great for the two characteristics chance to be a leader and opportunity to be helpful to others.

Athapaskan responses show large differences for three of the characteristics, as shown in Table VII-12. There is a smaller difference between aspiring and non-aspiring students for the characteristic lets you stay near home, perhaps because leaving home does not mean leaving the Athapaskan community altogether and therefore does not alter the opportunity for leadership. Interestingly, high standing and importance is less frequently designated "very important" by aspiring than by non-aspiring students. Leadership is perhaps seen by Athapaskans more as a service activity than as a prestigeful one, and recognition and prestige (or the idea of high standing) are associated with white middle class occupations rather than a position which suggests authority only among Indians.

In the next section we are concerned with assessing the students' qualifications for leadership as it appears in the school setting. We will be employing two kinds of evaluation of the students' performance in school as a basis for determining his qualification. The first of these is a measure of a student's social qualification for leadership. This measure is intended to reflect a student's social capacity for leadership in so far as

TABLE VII-11

Per Cent of Sioux Students Who Consider Leadership-Related Job Characteristics "Very Important" by Whether or Not They Aspire to Leadership

Job Characteristic	Student Aspires	Student Does Not Aspire	Percentage Difference
Gives you a chance to be a leader	57%	32%	+25%
Opportunity to be helpful to others	87	62	+25
Allows you to stay near home	26	15	+11
Gives you high standing and importance	52	43	+9
Opportunity to work with people	57	63	-6
N =	(23)	(96)	

TABLE VII-12

Per Cent of Athapaskan Students Who Consider Leadership-Related Job Characteristics "Very Important" by Whether or Not They Aspire to Leadership

Job Characteristic	Student Aspires	Student Does Not Aspire	Percentage Difference
Gives you a chance to be a leader	41%	17%	+24%
Opportunity to be helpful to others	81	56	+25
Allows you to stay near home	32	22	+10
Gives you high standing and importance	18	33	-15
Opportunity to work with people	73	47	+26
N =	(22)	(36)	

it is a product of his social behavior, his interaction with peers and teachers. The second measure is one of a student's capability for leadership as it is reflected in his academic achievement in school. We will first discuss our measures of social qualification for leadership and then move on to a discussion of the academic qualification.

Social Qualification for Leadership

Two items in the student interviews and one in the teacher questionnaire have provided us with direct measures of what we shall call a students social qualification for leadership. The three items will be discussed below along with a description of how they have been combined to form a single measure, the index of social qualification for leadership.

Leadership in School Activities

The first item is leadership in school activities. Leadership in school activities is taken to be an indication that a student has a certain ability to be a leader and that this ability is formally recognized by other students in the school, since office positions in activities are generally elected positions. Students who have held offices in extra-curricular activities have also acquired some experience in leadership. Thus leadership in school activities can be taken as one measure of overall qualification for leadership. In addition, this leadership experience may provide a student with support for any aspiration he may have to become a leader, that is, it may support his self-image.

Students were asked whether they had held any offices in school activities in the past year. The distribution of responses for the two Indian groups is shown below.

TABLE VII-13

Distribution of Students Holding
Offices in School Activities

		Number of Offices					
	None	1	2	3	4	5+	Total
Sioux	N = 89	17	9	1	1	2	119
	% = 75%	14%	8%	1%	1%	2%	100%
Athapaskan	N = 51	9	1	2	--	--	63
	% = 81%	14%	2%	3%	--	--	100%

For the purposes of the index the distribution is divided into "high" and "low." Students with two or more offices are considered "high."

Named by Students and Teachers

The two other indicators of social qualification were obtained by asking teachers to name students who they thought "would make good leaders" and by asking students to name their classmates on the same basis. In each case they could name up to three people.

These two measures appear to indicate two aspects of the development of leadership potential. First, they reflect the informal recognition (as opposed to the formal recognition of election to a leadership position) of a student's leadership ability either by his peers or by school authorities. Recognition by peers is important because these are members of the larger group whose support he must ultimately gain to become a community leader. Recognition by school authorities is important because these people can both influence and expedite his future educational and occupational plans. Second, to the extent that students and teachers make known their impressions of the students, these measures might indicate another type of support for the student's image of himself as a potential leader.

The first set of distributions below shows the number and per cent of students who were nominated by teachers. Since the numbers of teachers naming students varied widely among the schools, the percentage of teachers in a school who named the student is used as the base. We again divide the distribution into "high" and "low" with those students who were named by 20% or more of the teachers in his school designated as "high."

TABLE VII-14

Distribution of Students Nominated by Teachers

		Per Cent of Teachers Naming the Student					
	None	1-19%	20-39%	40-59%	60-79%	80-100%	Total
Sioux	N = 96	12	7	2	---	2	119
	% = 81%	10%	6%	2%	---	2%	101%
Athapaskan	N = 41	9	3	3	2	5	63
	% = 66	14%	5%	5%	3%	8%	100%

The next set of distributions shows the number and per cent of students who were named by other students in their class. Again the per cent of students naming the particular individual is used as the base. The division between "high" and "low" is 20% for the Athapaskans and 10% for the Sioux. The lower cut-off point for the Sioux is required by the different distribution. Because there were many more students in the two schools in Pine Ridge than in the Alaskan schools many more students received nominations and the distribution was skewed towards the lower numbers, thereby reducing the chance of any one individual being named by a large proportion of students.

TABLE VII-15

Distribution of Students Nominated by Peers

	Per Cent of Students Naming the Individual								
	None	1-9%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40-49%	50-59%	60%+	Total
Sioux	N = 75	26	6	4	2	1	4	1	119
	% = 63%	21%	5%	3%	2%	1%	3%	1%	99%
Athapaskan	N = 44	---	11	2	3	1	1	1	63
	% = 68%	---	18%	3%	5%	2%	2%	2%	100%

Index Construction

While each of the three items discussed above reflects somewhat different dimensions of leadership experience and recognition they are generally related to each other (see Appendix B). In order to have a single measure of social qualification which could be correlated with other variables pertaining to leadership for a relatively small number of cases, the three items were combined in an index of social qualification.

The index score for each student was constructed as follows: for each of the three items a student was assigned a score of 0, 1 or 2 representing "no," "low" or "high" potential, respectively. A student's index score is the sum of his scores on the three items, the highest possible score being 6. The distribution of Sioux and Athapaskan students on this index is shown below.

TABLE VII-16

Distribution of Students on Index of
Social Qualification for Leadership

		Index Score							
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Sioux	N =	61	24	11	8	9	3	3	119
	% =	51%	20%	9%	7%	8%	3%	3%	101%
Athapaskan	N =	30	14	6	4	6	2	1	63
	% =	48%	22%	10%	6%	10%	3%	2%	101%

Students with Index scores of 2 or more were considered to have social qualification for leadership: Sioux - 30%; Athapaskan - 30%. This meant that a student must have at least one high score or two low ones on the three leadership items to be designated as having been socially qualified. The choice of a cut off point of 2 or more also helped to achieve the best balance of numbers in the three groups of no, low and high.

Social Qualification Related to Aspiration to Leadership

When we relate the first two items of the leadership typology -- aspirations and social qualification -- we see that there are differences between the Sioux and Athapaskan students. Although in both cases there is a relationship between aspiring to leadership and having social qualifications, these relationships are far stronger in the Athapaskan case. Aspiration to leadership among the Athapaskans might arise from their school experience.

Those students with support in school for their leadership abilities may be encouraged. On the other hand, it is also possible that those students who aspire to leadership may behave in school in such a way that they act out their leadership interests and are therefore recognized by others as qualified leaders. Among the Sioux the aspiration to leadership seems to be more independent of the school experience.

TABLE VII-17

Students' Aspiration to Leadership by Social Qualification

Sioux	Social Qualification		Athapaskan	Social Qualification	
Aspiration	Yes	No	Aspiration	Yes	No
Yes	30%	16%	Yes	56%	29%
No	70	84	No	44	71
	(33)	(82)		(19)	(44)

Academic Qualification -- Class Rank

The second measure of qualification for leadership to be included in the leadership typology is the academic performance of the student measured by his class rank in school. A student's academic ability is considered here to be an important measure of his qualification for leadership for several reasons. First, a record of high academic performance will enable a student to carry out any educational and occupational plans he may have. This is true because school personnel may use class rank as a basis for recommending students for various post-high school programs and because teachers may influence students with demonstrated academic ability to try for certain higher goals. Also other institutions rely on this formal indicator of a student's ability in their selection processes. Second, if we assume that leadership of any sort is a complex job requiring certain skills, we can assume that not all people will be equally capable of fulfilling leadership positions. To the extent that class rank in school is a relatively good measure of a student's abilities, we can use it as a measure of capability or capacity to become a leader. Finally, to the extent that a student is aware of his abilities, they may help to define his own self image. This self image may, in turn, determine the level of a student's aspirations.

In Chapter III we described our scoring of upper and lower class rank for the students in the study and indicated certain characteristics of students in each group. Here we will relate class rank to the two measures of the leadership typology which have been introduced already.

When we relate class rank to aspiration we find that there is a moderate relationship for the Athapaskan students although none for the Sioux.

TABLE VII-18

Students' Aspiration to Leadership by Class Rank

Sioux	Class Rank		Athapaskan	Class Rank	
Aspiration	Upper	Lower	Aspiration	Upper	Lower
Yes	19%	21%	Yes	48%	37%
No	81	79	No	52	63
	(58)	(57)		(21)	(31)

The relationship for the Athapaskans between academic performance and aspiration is supported by other data as well. In Alaska, students who aspire to leadership are more likely to be on grade level and less likely to have dropped out of school than the non-aspirants. (See Tables VII-19 and VII-20.) Within the Alaskan situation, therefore, students who conceive the goal of becoming leaders within their own communities are students who tend to perform better in school. Presumably the school experience encourages these students since within this context they are consistently recognized as being able. It is not possible to tell from our data, however, whether the idea to be a leader actually derives from this positive school experience.

It is clear that the experience within the Sioux community is very different. Sioux students who aspire to leadership are not necessarily the better students. Aspiring to leadership is also unrelated to the other measures of academic performance -- dropping out and age-grade level -- as shown in Tables VII-19 and VII-20. Unlike the Athapaskan students, they do not have the impetus of a high performance in school to either support or instigate their aspiration to leadership.

When we relate academic qualification for leadership (class rank) to social qualification for leadership, we find strong positive relationships for both the Sioux and Athapaskans, as seen in Table VII-21. We can conclude that for both Indian groups the two school-based assessments of qualification for leadership -- the social and the academic -- are linked. Either the better students are more frequently identified and encouraged in leadership roles, or, conversely, students who are active or impress others as having leadership ability tend to be favored in the class room as well.

TABLE VII-19

Aspiration to Leadership by Students' Age-Grade Relationship

Sioux	Age-grade		Athapaskans	Age-grade	
Aspiration	On grade	Below grade	Aspiration	On grade	Below grade
Yes	17%	21%	Yes	50%	26%
No	83	79	No	50	74
	(47)	(53)		(28)	(30)

TABLE VII-20

Aspiration to Leadership by Students' Dropping Out

Sioux	Dropping Out		Athapaskans	Dropping Out	
Aspiration	No	Yes	Aspiration	No	Yes
Yes	20%	18%	Yes	38%	25%
No	80	82	No	62	75
	(91)	(28)		(55)	(4)

TABLE VII-21

Social Qualification by Students' Academic Qualification

Sioux	Class Rank		Athapaskans	Class Rank	
Social Qualification	Upper	Lower	Social Qualification	Upper	Lower
Yes	47%	10%	Yes	54%	14%
No	53	90	No	46	86
	(57)	(58)		(26)	(36)

Since in the Athapaskan case the three measures of leadership potential which have been introduced so far are all related, we want to see whether each of the measures of qualification is independently related to aspiration. (Among the Sioux, there is no relationship between aspiration and class rank. Therefore a three-variable table is not necessary.) The three-variable Table VII-22 shows that among the Athapaskans both measures of qualification are independently related to the aspiration for leadership. Students who have both types of support in school are more likely to aspire to leadership than students lacking either one or both of the other measures of qualification.

TABLE VII-22

Proportion of Athapaskan Students Who Aspire to Leadership
According to Social and Academic Qualifications

	Social Qualification	
Class Rank	Yes	No
Yes	62% (13)	45% (11)
No	40% (5)	23% (30)

Leadership Plans

Aspiring to a community leadership role indicates relevant interest of the student, but it is still necessary to introduce a variable which indicates the student's actual intention to prepare for or take on such a role. We are suggesting that certain educational and occupational goals are more ideal or suitable than others for preparing Indian high school graduates for effective leadership of their people and that the intention to pursue these goals can be used as a fourth measure of leadership potential.

First, the experience and skills gained through college education are increasingly viewed by Indians as well as Whites as vital preparation for effective Indian leadership. This attitude has been recently emphasized in studies of particular tribes, such as the Navajo; in the development of intertribal associations concerned with rights and opportunities for Indians, such as the National Indian Youth Council founded at the University of New Mexico; and by scholarship programs and other policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Data in this study indicates that both students and teachers, as well as current Indian leaders, are aware that a college education is increasingly important for coping effectively with the economic, social and legal problems facing Indian groups today.

Second, it is obvious that certain occupations constitute or involve leadership or influence in any community. Teaching, community action work, and professional level service occupations such as law and politics are examples.

Students' responses to questions about their post-high school plans and what they said they wanted to be doing in ten years were used to identify those with leadership plans. All students who planned to attend a four year college were automatically included in the group of those with leadership plans. A number of other students who indicated that they were going into service occupations, either immediately or in the future, were also included, even if they did not say that they were planning to attend college.

Through this process of selection 29 per cent of the Sioux students and 27 per cent of the Athapaskan students are considered to have Leadership plans.

Leadership Plans and Other Leadership Variables

Since leadership plans frequently mean college, this variable might be expected to correlate with academic qualification, class rank. Table VII-23 indicates a relatively strong relationship for the Sioux and little or no relationship for the Athapaskans.

TABLE VII-23

Students' Academic Qualification by Leadership Plans

Sioux	Class Rank		Athapaskans	Class Rank	
Plans	Upper	Lower	Plans	Upper	Lower
Yes	42%	21%	Yes	30%	23%
No	58	79	No	70	77
	(57)	(58)		(26)	(36)

If we analyze this relationship between class rank and leadership plans separately for each grade in school, we see that among the Sioux students, the same proportion of students in the lower half of both the junior and senior classes have leadership plans. (See Table VII-24.) Among the seniors, however, a larger proportion of those in the upper half of their class do plan either to attend college or pursue a high level occupation. This may indicate that the guidance process in the school operates between the junior and senior years to identify and encourage those with ability to pursue higher level goals.

TABLE VII-24

Sioux Students' Leadership Plans by Academic Qualification According to Year in School

	Juniors		Seniors		
	Class Rank			Class Rank	
Plans	Upper	Lower	Plans	Upper	Lower
Yes	27%	21%	Yes	54%	20%
No	73	79	No	46	80
	(33)	(38)		(24)	(20)

However, among the Athapaskans, as shown in Table VII-25, there is no change of the kind observed in the Sioux between the junior and senior year. Athapaskan seniors in the upper half of their class are, in fact, less likely to have leadership plans than are the juniors in the upper half of their class.

TABLE VII-25

Athapaskan Students' Leadership Plans by Academic Qualification According to Year in School

	Juniors		Seniors		
	Class Rank			Class Rank	
Plans	Upper	Lower	Plans	Upper	Lower
Yes	33%	20%	Yes	27%	25%
No	67	80	No	73	75
	(14)	(26)		(11)	(12)

Hence, there is again evidence for a breakdown in the schools' guidance of academically promising Athapaskan students toward college or service and professional occupations. As we discussed in Chapter V, teachers in Alaskan schools seem to encourage the better students to acquire training which prepares them for skilled jobs rather than to to on to college.

On the other hand, there are almost no opportunities for Sioux students around their homes of the sort available in Alaska. Sioux schools might feel that it is important that as many students as possible acquire the highest level of education they can succeed at in order to more successfully compete for jobs off the reservation. This guidance policy may also result in permanent loss to the reservation of many of these students.

When we relate leadership plans to social qualification for leadership we see that there are relatively strong relationships in both populations.

TABLE VII-26

Students' Leadership Plans
by Social Qualification

Sioux	Social Qualification		Athapaskans	Social Qualification	
Plans	Yes	No	Plans	Yes	No
Yes	47%	22%	Yes	42%	20%
No	53	78	No	58	80
	(33)	(82)		(19)	(44)

In view of the relationship of both social qualification and class rank to leadership plans in the _Sioux_ case, we should see how each relates to

Plans when the other is held constant, since they are independently related to each other (see above, page 156.) In the three variable Table VII-27 we find that the support and experience of school leadership (social qualification) is more crucial to the development of future leadership plans than is academic success. Class rank only makes a difference for those students without the social qualification for leadership. Students with the social qualification are planning for leadership regardless of their class rank.

TABLE VII-27

Proportion of Sioux Students Who Have Leadership Plans
According to Social and Academic Qualification

Sioux	Social Qualification	
Class Rank	Yes	No
Top	48% (27)	30% (21)
Bottom	50% (6)	17% (43)

Thus it seems that in both Alaska and Pine Ridge, the support in school that comes from being recognized as a leader may lead a student to develop leadership plans even if he lacks the necessary academic qualification. Rewards of the informal system (social) are more important than are those of the formal system (academic) for both Indian groups.

Table VII-28 shows the degree to which the students' stated aspiration is accompanied by leadership plans. Although there are relationships between interest and intent in both cases, the relationship is much stronger for the Athapaskans than for the Sioux. The fact that only a third of the Sioux with aspirations actually plan for leadership may be a result of the

TABLE VII-28

Students' Aspiration by Leadership Plans

Sioux	Aspiration		Athapaskans	Aspiration	
Plans	Yes	No	Plans	Yes	No
Yes	37%	15%	Yes	55%	13%
No	63	85	No	45	87
	(23)	(96)		(22)	(38)

fact that Sioux students who aspire to leadership have ideas about the occupational and educational qualifications for leadership which differ from those defined above by us. In the Alaskan case, the students who aspire to leadership seem to assume that education is necessary and that certain occupations are more congruent with that goal.

To some extent, the attitude toward the need for educational qualification may reflect differences in leadership structure of the two Indian groups. The politics of the Pine Ridge Sioux is both traditional and tribal. Candidates are often supported along blood lines and traditional tribal status. Thus the nature of Sioux politics does not emphasize the need for educated leaders. In contrast, the current leaders of Athapaskans are entering mainstream politics whether as elected local or state representatives or as members of the bourgeoning numbers of ethnic-based political organizations which are particularly active as pressure groups in the current Land Claims crisis. The need for educated, politically sophisticated leaders is thus recognized by the Athapaskans as crucial.

In Table VII-29 we compare the effect of aspiration and social qualification on leadership plans. For the Athapaskans, aspiration makes the overwhelming difference in leadership plans, whereas for the Sioux both aspiration and social qualification are important and have independent effects.

TABLE VII-29

Proportion of Students with Leadership Plans According to Aspiration and Social Qualification

Sioux			Athapaskans		
	Aspiration			Aspiration	
Social Qualification	Yes	No	Social Qualification	Yes	No
Yes	67% (10)	32% (23)	Yes	70% (10)	13% (8)
No	36% (13)	23% (17)	No	42% (12)	13% (30)

From Tables VII-23-VII-29, then, it can be concluded that among the Athapaskans, aspiration is the only variable strongly related to plans while in the Sioux case all three variables are somewhat related to plans. Athapaskan students apparently tend to plan to carry through their aspirations to leadership but frequently do not acquire the academic and social support for these plans.

For the two Indian groups, the school system fails in different ways to maximize the likelihood of students who possess one or more of the aspects of leadership from making leadership plans. For the Sioux, the school provides support for students with social and academic qualifications to seek leadership plans. It does not, however, encourage students with plans to aspire to leadership. The Athapaskan students who aspire to leadership do seek leadership plans and also obtain social qualification from their school experience, but the schools fail to provide encouragement for those Athapaskan students with academic qualification to seek leadership plans (college).

The Typology of Leadership Potential

We have seen that two kinds of qualifications (academic and social) and aspirations to leadership are each related to post-high school plans which will afford the opportunity to assume leadership positions. Further, we have shown that certain of these factors are influential independently of one another. Thus, aspirations are important regardless of social qualifications; and the latter are important regardless of class rank. But so far we have not assessed the effect of each of the three leadership variables while controlling for the possible effects of both of the other variables. Since the three variables are related to one another in complex ways, it is important to follow this procedure. In the present section, therefore, we attempt to identify the factors which are independently predictive of leadership plans by observing the three leadership variables simultaneously. Also, we will be interested in learning whether a certain combination of factors is necessary to produce leadership plans.

Following this analysis, we will construct a typology which includes plans as a classificatory variable. In other words, we will show the numerical distribution of students according to all four of the leadership variables: academic qualification, social qualification, aspirations and plans. In addition to providing us with a profile of the two Indian communities with respect to the leadership potential of their high school students, the typology will direct our attention both to the students with full leadership potential and to certain deviant cases which require more intensive study than our statistical procedures will permit. In the following chapter, students who are thereby identified will be treated as case studies by drawing on information gathered throughout the entire interview.

We now turn to examining the effects on leadership plans of each the three other variables. Figures showing the relationship of all thre variables to leadership plans are shown in Table VII-30 for the Sioux an in Table VII-31 for the Athapaskan students.

TABLE VII-30

Proportion of Sioux Students with Leadership Plans by Class Rank, Social Qualification and Aspiration

	Class Rank			
	Upper		Lower	
Sioux	Social Qualification			
Aspiration	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	67% (6)	60% (5)	50% (4)	25% (8)
No	43% (21)	24% (25)	50% (2)	16% (44)

TABLE VII-31

Proportion of Athapaskan Students with Leadership Plans by Class Rank, Social Qualification, and Aspiration

	Class Rank			
	Upper		Lower	
Athapaskans	Social Qualification			
Aspiration	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	63% (8)	40% (5)	100% (2)	43% (7)
No	20% (5)	15% (6)	33% (3)	9% (23)

The Role of Aspiration

If we compare the top and bottom halves of Tables VII-30 and VII-31, we can see that in both the Sioux and the Athapaskan cases aspiration has an important effect on leadership plans. In *Alaska*, many students who aspire to leadership have conceived educational and occupational plans which are congruent with this goal, whereas the non-aspirants, generally, do not have this type of plan. Leadership plans exist among the Athapaskan aspirers even when they lack the necessary academic and social qualifications. Apparently, in Alaska, the desire to become a leader makes an enormous difference and, as was stated above, the Athapaskan idea of leadership seems to be congruent with the one formalized in our variable of leadership plans.

Among the *Sioux*, the case is not so clear. Aspiration appears to make a difference only when the students already are academically qualified, that is, in the upper half of their class. If we look at the right half of the table, we see that aspiration makes no difference when class rank is low.

The Role of Social Qualification for Leadership

By and large, the *Athapaskans* who are socially qualified are more likely to have leadership plans than are those who lack the necessary social qualification. In short, this factor does have an effect independently of other leadership background variables, although the effect is weaker than the effect of aspiration.

In the case of the *Sioux*, social qualification would appear to be as strong as aspiration in relation to future plans. It seems that socially qualified students have plans for the future which would enable them to become leaders even when they lack both academic qualification and aspiration to leadership.

The Role of Class Rank

Among the Athapaskan students, class rank seems to make little or no difference in the intentions of students to plan for leadership. Often the findings are inconsistent with what might be expected, i.e., those in the lower half of their class or more likely to plan than those in the upper half. There are two ways to look at these relationships. First, we can ask why the people in the upper half of their class don't have leadership plans more consistently. One possible explanation is that only aspiration is important among the Athapaskans -- we do find high planning when aspiration is present. Another is the explanation offered in Chapter V that there are many occupations which do not require college available for the Athapaskans. The second way of looking at the table is to ask why so many in the lower half of the class have leadership plans. Again we can see the overwhelming impact of aspiration, particularly when combined with social qualification. Also there may exist in Alaska a deviation from the usual relationship between grading in secondary schools and admission to colleges, i.e., colleges may admit Athapaskans with low class rank through adjusted entrance requirements and a boost from programs such as Upward Bound.

Generally, the effects of class rank on leadership plans are more coordinated among the Sioux students than they are in Alaska. We still have the problem of why so many in the lower half of the class have leadership plans (particularly when they have the social qualification). It may be that when the students have the necessary social qualification they receive a boost to their self-image. Also, colleges look for people with records that show evidence of social skill as we have measured it, i.e., leadership in school activities and recognition from teachers and peers. In borderline cases these skills may be sufficient grounds for a college to accept a student even though class rank may be below that which would normally be required. Further, we have shown that more seniors than juniors in the top half of their class have leadership plans. If this table dealt only with seniors, the left half (upper class rank) would be considerably higher than the right half.

* * *

Now that we have examined the independent effects of each of the three background leadership variables, we will introduce leadership plans as a fourth classificatory variable. This procedure yields the Typology of Leadership Potential (TLP), shown below. By comparing the TLP for the two communities, we see that the students are distributed very similarly among the cells. In both tribes, only a very small proportion have full leadership potential -- that is, aspire to leadership, are both socially and academically qualified, and have post-secondary plans which will help them to become leaders. In the case of the Athapaskans, only 8 per cent have full leadership potential; and in the case of the Sioux, only 3 per cent. Conversely, about a third of the students in each of the tribes are completely devoid of any leadership characteristics (see the lower right-hand corner of the TLP).

TABLE VII-32

Typology of Leadership Potential

(TLP)

Sioux

		Class Rank			
		Top		Bottom	
		Social Qualification			
Aspiration	Leadership Plans	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	4 (3%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)
	No	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	6 (5%)
No	Yes	9 (8%)	6 (5%)	1 (1%)	7 (6%)
	No	12 (10%)	19 (17%)	1 (1%)	37 (32%)

Total = 115 (100%)

Athapaskans

		Class Rank			
		Top		Bottom	
		Social Qualification			
Aspiration	Leadership Plans	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	Yes	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	3 (2%)
	No	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	-- --	4 (7%)
No	Yes	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)
	No	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	21 (36%)

Total = 59 (100%)

The total pool of students who aspire to community leadership is much larger than the number who have full potential. Thus, among the Athapaskans, 37 per cent aspire to leadership, but only 8 per cent have full potential; and among the Sioux, the respective figures are 19 per cent versus 3 per cent. There seems to be a considerable discrepancy, therefore, between the aspirations of these Indian students and their possession of characteristics which would promote their entry into leadership positions. Among Athapaskans, 5 per cent of those without full potential who nevertheless aspire to leadership lack only the appropriate post-secondary plans. This figure is 2 per cent among the Sioux. Here is a problem which could be best handled by the guidance programs in the schools. Further, 3 per cent of the aspirers in each community are lacking only in social qualifications, i.e., recognition by peers or by teachers as possible student leaders. More attention to the individual qualifications of students for school leadership or to creating leadership opportunities would help solve this problem.

In the next chapter, we examine these deviant cases in some detail. The importance of identifying the barriers to full leadership potential will be appreciated if we note the following: if students who aspire to leadership but who lack only a single one of the characteristics which we have posed as necessary for full leadership potential could be identified and helped to achieve full potential, the proportion of Sioux and Athapaskan students with full leadership potential would more than double.

CHAPTER VIII

LEADER PROFILES AND DEVIANT CASE ANALYSES

In this chapter we will focus on specific individuals within the study who show high Leadership Potential. For each area we will first present brief case studies of the students who show full Leadership Potential. Here our purpose will be to describe the students and to explore some of their attitudes and plans.

Following these portraits, we will turn to those groups of students who deviate from full potential on one measure in an effort to suggest various factors which may produce the specific types of deviance. We will look first at the students who lack only Leadership Plans, asking why these students do not plan to take on leadership roles. Second we will examine the students who have all the leadership potential qualities but do not aspire to leadership. Third we will investigate possible explanations for why certain students who are academically qualified and have leadership interest and intent are not recognized in the school setting. Finally, we will ask why there are students with all the qualifications for leadership except that they do not achieve well in school. In each of these four analyses we will be dealing with very small numbers of cases and therefore do not presume to be doing anything more than suggesting variables which may be important and might be used in further analyses. Further, these suggested variables may differ in the Sioux and Athapaskan cases.

Pine Ridge

Students with Full Leadership Potential

Michael. A Mixed Blood Indian, Michael comes from a clearly upwardly mobile family. His parents have moved several times on the reservation -- and once a short distance away -- perhaps in search of jobs. They now live in the town of Pine Ridge. Although his father is not presently working and only went as far as the ninth grade in school, there exist clear educational models in the family. Michael's mother, a grade school teacher in Pine Ridge, completed four years of college. Five of his six older siblings have completed high school and several of them have attended or are presently attending college. The family is an important influence in his life: family members help him with his homework and supported his determination to complete his high school education. An older brother convinced him to join the Marines before going to college.

The upward mobility of Michael's family seems to have involved a separation from the traditional life of the community. Neither of his parents take part in traditional activities and although they both speak Indian, they have not taught their children the language. As a result, Michael himself is not oriented toward the traditional Indian way of life: his feeling that more culture should be taught in the high schools is based on a generalized belief that "anybody should know more about their own people," rather than a specific commitment to the perpetuation of the Indian culture.

After the Marines, Michael intends to go to college and ultimately to become a high school English teacher. He does not, at present, plan to live on the reservation because, he says, "I won't get anywhere around here."

Michael's interest in being a leader seems less certain than that of some of the other students. Although he says he would like to be a leader because he "likes to help other people," it seems that his commitment to "making it" off the reservation may prevent him from being a leader of it.

Steve. Steve, a senior at OCS and the oldest of five children, is deeply commited to achieving success occupationally and socially. Although this ambition may lead him off the reservation for some time, he may eventually return in order to maintain family relationships, which seem to be very important to him.

Steve has lived most of his life in the village of Oglala but considers the town of Pine Ridge his home. He has always lived with his mother and, since his mother's remarriage four years ago, with a step-father whom he considers his father. Both parents hold unskilled labor jobs on the reservation. English is usually spoken in the home although Steve and his parents speak Indian as well.

Steve seems to have enjoyed high school immensely. He reports that he had good relationships with both his teachers and his peers, took part in several extra-curricular activities, and had considerable support from home for his school efforts.

Next year Steve plans to attend Black Hills State College in furtherance of his plan to become a teacher. Although he says his mother was most influential in this decision, he clearly has had support from other sources as well. Two of his best friends will also be attending BHSC next year, and

Steve's cousins, who are now attending college, have told him that a college education is important.

Steve's family is a model for his aspiration to leadership. He says "most of [his] relatives have been leaders" but adds that his school experiences on student council have also influenced him in this goal. However, his ambitions seem to run counter to other concerns. He wants "to see other parts of the country" because he "feels so limited staying in one place." He would also like to live in a big city "if its a good place to live."

His personal interest in leaving the reservation for some time is reflected in his answers to the hypothetical questions where he usually advised leaving home for reasons of independence and the possibility of upward mobility. He seems to feel strongly that a person should not be tied only to his home community. Nor does Steve appear to be committed to traditional Sioux culture. Although both of his parents dance at powwows, he does not because he is "not interested" and he would not encourage his children to take part, although "if they wanted to I wouldn't stand in their way." Though he personally enjoyed learning about Indian culture in school he doesn't think this study should be emphasized. He has no preference for Indian teachers because he wants to "get to know other races."

There seem to be two strong drives in Steve: one is a personal desire for upward mobility and a life off the reservation; the other is a commitment to leadership and to following in the footsteps of his family, from whom he seems to derive considerable support. A hint to a possible resolution of this conflict comes from his answer to the question whether he would like to take part in the Indian program suggested by President Johnson. Steve thinks this is a "very important idea for our community" and that he would like to be involved "not all my life but help if I can, especially in the policy making."

In sum, then, it seems that Steve has a present feeling that he is limited in choices by the life on the reservation and he is anxious to break away for some time at least. However, he does seem also to be interested in assuming a leadership position and being near his family.

Peter. There seem to be two sides to Peter which were, perhaps, described most clearly by one of the interviewers: "for a guy that drinks and raises hell, he's a good student and is smart." Peter is "one of the guys." He spends a considerable amount of time just hanging around and drinking and the interviewer to whom he was assigned had to wait a long time before, as she put it, "he was sober enough to be interviewed." At the same time, Peter is a highly intelligent boy who is interested in the cultural life of the community and who plans to live near home. The reason he gave for wanting to be a leader, perhaps flippant, perhaps serious, was "I like the money they make."

Peter, the fourth of nine siblings, has lived in the town of Pine Ridge most of his life. His father, who completed high school, works as a mechanic for the BIA; his mother is unemployed. His family provides support for his efforts in school by way of encouragement and models. Two of his three older siblings are presently in college; the third finished high school and is now in the Navy.

Although there is little participation in the traditional Indian way of life in the family, Peter personally thinks these cultural traditions are important. He prefers to be taught by Indians because "they understand you better," would encourage his children to participate in the dances, and thinks more should be taught in the school about the culture because "[Indian students] need to know more about their background."

More than most of the students interviewed, Peter seems to have derived real pleasure from his schoolwork and to have taken school seriously. He felt that HRM offered a good education and he enjoyed school very much. Good marks are important to Peter "to keep up with the rest." His favorite subject was math and he intends to pursue this interest by majoring in it at Black Hills State College and ultimately by becoming a bookkeeper or an accountant. In this plan, as in his decision to complete his high school education, Peter reports that teachers at HRM were very important.

John. The only junior with all the qualifications for potential leadership, John seems to be the most committed to this aspiration. In this he seems to have been very much influenced by his experiences as a student at HRM. One has the impression that his commitment to the reservation and to helping there is a product of attitudes and information absorbed from various staff members.

John has lived all of his life in small villages on the reservation and considers ~~one~~ of these villages his home. He lives most of the time with a couple who adopted him (he does not say what happened to his parents) but occasionally stays with members of his extended family. Both of his adopted parents are employed: John's father is a bus driver for a BIA day school and his mother is a clerk for the Public Health Service. They have had twelve and ten years of education respectively. John has four older siblings, one of whom has finished high school. Although he and his parents speak Indian, English is more often spoken in the home.

Throughout the questionnaire, John gave consistent answers which pointed towards his ultimate goal of working on the reservation and helping the Indians to maintain their traditional way of life. He says, for instance, that although he himself does not at present participate in Indian dancing, he used to dance, and he thinks that "to an Indian [these activities] should be very important." He plans to encourage his children to dance and to teach them to speak the Indian language.

This commitment to the Indian culture seems to have derived from and colored his school experiences. He liked American History best of all his courses because "they talked about Indians" and he enjoyed learning these things because they enabled him "to look deeper in what the Indians have come from." He thinks that more should be taught in the schools "because [Indian students] should know something about their own culture."

His experiences in school have led, in part, to his commitment to be a leader: "In school the education of Indian background showed white men aren't treating the Indians right or giving them a chance." Particular school personnel have also been very important to John. He looks to the principal and guidance counselor for approval and the guidance counselor is the one who has most influenced his decision to attend the Donaldson Seminary School for Indians upon graduation from high school.

John plans to live on the reservation, "so I can be able to help my own kind of people after I get an education." He would like to be a Social Worker on the reservation and he named as the person he would most like to trade places with a man who is now working in that capacity. In response to the question of why he would like to be a leader on the reservation he replied simply "people need help."

Students Without Leadership Plans

The two students who are fully qualified to become leaders in all respects but have no leadership plans differ from those with full leadership potential mainly in terms of their family situations and the extent of the support for education they seem to get from home. Although not all the full potential leaders have always had the same parents, they all come from relatively stable families. Two of them have always lived with the same parents, a third always lived with his mother who recently remarried (he considers his mother and stepfather his parents), and a fourth was adopted by a couple on the reservation whom he now considers his parents. In addition, each of the students feels that he has the support of his parents for his efforts in school. In response to the question, "What would your parents do or say if you decided to drop out of school?" all of the potential leaders asserted that their parents would either forbid it or be very upset.

The two students who have no leadership plans, on the other hand, come from unstable or extraordinary family situations. Mark was deserted by his mother after his natural father died and has spent most of his life with his grandparents. From a number of answers in the interview it is clear that Mark has not had the support from home which would lead him to aspire to a high level occupational goal. In response to the question of what his grandparents would have done if he dropped out of school, he answered, "They wouldn't have said anything." He also reported that he got no help at home with his schoolwork, that "nobody" influenced him to go this far in school, that "nobody" influenced his plans for after high school, and that if he were punished unjustly in school the reaction of his grandmother would have been to "scold me too."

The other student, Tom, is the son of an Indian woman married to a white man. The family now lives in North Carolina but they send Tom to Pine Ridge to attend school. During the four years that Tom has attended HRM he has only seen his parents once. While at school he lives with a grandmother, aunt and several cousins. He does not seem to get any support for his efforts in school from his parents. He reports that his parents have not influenced his plans for after high school or his having gone this far in school. In response to the question of what his mother would do if punished unjustly, he responded, "She probably would say I deserved it from the times I didn't get caught."

In contrast to the potential leaders, then, it seems that the non-planners lack a stable family situation and family involvement in their lives and plans. It appears that before students can take full advantage of their potential and plan to go on to college or a high level occupation, they must have encouragement and support.

Students Without Aspiration to Leadership

There are nine Sioux students with full potential for leadership who nevertheless do not at this point have any interest in becoming leaders in their home communities.[1]

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[1] One student is not sure about his interest: in response to the question, "Do you want to become a leader?" he answered, "I don't know," and therefore was classified as a non-aspirant.

In many ways the backgrounds of these nine students are similar to those of the four full potential leaders. All come from basically stable families. Three are oldest children and the other six have very clear educational models: in all cases they have at least two older siblings who have graduated from high school and several of them have older siblings in college. Most of the students view their families as being very supportive of their efforts in school. Like the potential leaders, they report that they received help at home with their schoolwork and that their parents would not allow them to drop out of school. They also report that their parents have influenced their plans for the future and have influenced them to go this far in school.

Their plans are also similar, though somewhat less certain than those of the four potential leaders. All of them are planning to attend college: among the six seniors, three will be at the University of South Dakota, two at Northern State in Aberdeen and one at Black Hills State College. The three juniors also plan to go to college for four years after graduation. Four of the nine mentioned teaching as a possible career -- two of them included the alternatives of social worker or lawyer. Another thought he would like to be an engineer. The remaining four were not as sure about their plans. One boy simply replied that he didn't know what he would be doing, that he would be taking "general courses" in college. Another said that he would "probably still be in school" in ten years. Two of the girls were also not clear about their long-range goals: one wants to be "a housewife with a career" because it is "a satisfying combination as long as you bring up kids right." The other simply wanted a "good-paying job and security."

In spite of these similarities to the potential leaders, there is one background factor which might explain why these nine students do not aspire to leadership. Eight of these students have lived off the reservation for some time.[2] Although they all consider the reservation "home," it might be that this exposure to a different way of life, combined with upward mobility aspiration, makes the thought of returning to the reservation more difficult than for the four potential leaders. Only one of the four potential leaders has lived off the reservation.[3] Furthermore, not only have these students lived away from home, most of them have lived far away and in places very different from the reservation, e.g., Cleveland, Ohio; New York City; Stockton, California. In several cases it is clear that the exposure to a different way of life has in fact influenced the future plans of the non-aspirants. For instance, one girl when asked where she would like to live most of her life answered, "in the East, because I've lived in a city and I'd like to go back to the city."

In general, the non-aspirants are more likely to want to live off the reservation. None of the nine said he planned to live on the reservation whereas two of the four full potential leaders said they planned to live near home. And the reasons given by the non-aspirants for leaving showed that they were mainly concerned with being successful: e.g., "living on the reservation will bring no advancement for me," "more opportunities away," "more chance for advancement away from here."

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[2] This relationship between living away from the reservation and non-aspiration to leadership was seen above for the total leadership population.

[3] Included in this study are a pair of brothers one of whom aspires to leadership and one of whom does not. Although, clearly, their backgrounds are essentially the same, the brother who does not aspire to leadership spent a year living in New York City while he attended a school near there. The "aspiring" brother has never lived outside of South Dakota although he did live off the reservation for a brief time.

In sum, then, the nine students who have potential but do not aspire to leadership have lived off the reservation at some times in their lives and are eager to do so again. They are concerned with being upwardly mobile and feel that life on the reservation will only hold them back.

Students Without Social Qualification

Two of the three students who show all aspects of leadership potential except social qualification are students who were not in school for large parts of the school year and whose lives seem to be centered outside of the school setting.

Jim dropped out of school for a part of both his junior and senior years. His lack of recognition as a potential leader by both students and teachers might therefore be explained by the fact that he was not visible to them. There is further evidence to support this suggestion. Jim's closest friends are boys who were not in school at the same time he was. Thus his social life was centered outside of the school. In addition, he held a job for four hours every day which must have cut down on the time that he could spend taking part in school activities and socializing with his peers.

Susan was also away during much of the school year. For five months she attended a school in Boise, Idaho, living with a white family as part of the Mormon Indian Student Placement Program. As a result she clearly was not visible to her peers or teachers and had relatively little opportunity to assume leadership positions in school. Like Jim, her social life was centered outside the sphere of school activities. Two of her best friends were from the school in Idaho. Also, while on the reservation she was very involved in the small Mormon community there: she was active in church affairs, she plans to attend Brigham Young University, and she reports that church officials have been influential in her life. Finally, it may be that Susan lacks the social abilities which would lead to social recognition as a potential leader. By her own report, she is very shy -- when asked why she didn't take part in the traditional dances she responsed that it was because she was "too shy." Also she is a Full Blood girl and from one of the isolated villages.

Although there is no similar explanation of lack of visibility for the third non-social leader, these two cases seem to suggest that the absence of social qualification for leadership when all other aspects of leadership potential are present is in part a deviance. In two out of three cases we find a lack of visibility and an orientation away from school. Thus it seems that normally social qualification accompanies the other three aspects of leadership potential and that when it is missing there is a specific explanation.

Students Without Academic Qualification

There are two students lacking only the academic qualification for leadership. Both of them are Full Blood Indians and they are close friends. There is evidence to support the guess that they are potentially good students and that their failure to perform well in school has a specific explanation.

Martin comes from a family where, although the parents have had relatively little education, there exist models of high academic performance. Two of his older siblings have completed high school and gone beyond it: one is presently attending Haskill Institute and the other is in a regular four year academic college. In addition, Martin does receive help from home in his school efforts. Nevertheless, he has had trouble in school. In part this might be explained by the fact that he has transferred often: he has attended two different elementary schools (one on and one off the reservation) and three high schools (HRM at two different times, a school in North Dakota and OCS). A transfer from HRM to OCS was precipitated by trouble with teachers in school. Perhaps Martin felt that he had to prove something as a new student -- he had been away for a year before that. Perhaps there was too much pressure on him to achieve from his parents who expected him to live up to the standards of performance set by his brothers. In any case, his trouble with the administration combined with his constant transferring have probably precluded his chances for being placed in the top half of the class.

With William the problem seems to be more one of a lack of motivation and models. William's mother never went beyond the eighth grade in school, and he doesn't know how far his father went. He is the oldest sibling and therefore does not have the advantage of a family model. Two of his friends (including Martin) have dropped out of school and in both cases William said he "felt like dropping out himself." Finally, William dropped out during his junior year at HRM, giving as his reason only, "I got tired of school."

Conclusion

From our study of the four potential leaders and the deviant cases we can draw some tentative conclusions about what background factors lead to the formation of leadership potential and aspiration among the Sioux. First, we have seen that a certain amount of support from home is essential if a student is going to fulfill his potential and aspire to a high level occupational goal. It seems to be important that a student have family members who encourage his school efforts and are willing to help him. In addition, the existence of models of high educational performance in the family, while not essential, seems important: three of the four potential leaders have had siblings who completed high school; in all cases they reported that these older siblings had influenced them in regard to their education and future plans.

Second, simple visibility to one's peers and teachers is of obvious importance to potential leadership as measured by our index. A student who drops out of school frequently or centers his social life outside of school will not receive formal recognition of his leadership ability. A consequence of this might be a lowering of his own self-image. It is hard to assert potential for leadership if this potential is never formally recognized. Also, the lack of formal recognition precludes the possibility of experience and an accurate assessment of ability.

While poor school performance may result from any of a number of factors, in the case of those students who seem otherwise to be qualified for leadership, there are specific explanations for poor academic work deriving from lack of motivation, no clear educational models and frequent transfers.

Not surprisingly, we find that students who have had the experience of a life very different from that on the reservation are less likely to aspire to reservation leadership. In many ways the reservation is a depressing place: living conditions are generally poor and there is very little to do for entertainment other than join a Saturday night crowd at a nearby bar. However, students who have never lived off the reservation might consider this life normal and may not believe that things are really much better in other places. Although they have probably seen television programs and movies which represent different life styles, they may not actually believe in the possibility of obtaining these things. On the other hand, students whose families have moved from the reservation for some time, have actually seen that life can be different and better in ways. Furthermore, having left at one point in their lives, they are probably less frightened by life off the reservation than are those students who have always lived on the reservation.

Finally, the attitudes of teachers and other staff members in the schools may facilitate leadership aspirations. Of the four potential leaders, the two who attended OCS are relatively uncertain about their commitment to the reservation. Michael insists that he does not want to live there and although he expresses interest in becoming a leader he is not concerned about the traditional life of the community and seems very much oriented towards a life which will fulfill his aspirations for upward mobility. The other OCS student, Steve, is somewhat more involved in the life of the reservation, although he too reflects ambivalence about his future. On the other hand, both of the students from HRM, Peter and John, plan to live on the reservation and are deeply commited to certain aspects of the traditional life there. Furthermore, both of them assert that school officials, and in one case, school courses, have been important to them. In Chapter II, we discussed some of the differences in attitudes between the teachers in the two schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Here we see more clearly how the more positive attitude towards the Indian culture among the staff of HRM may result in a stronger interest among students attending that school in ultimately assuming leadership positions.

Alaska

Students with Full Leadership Potential

Jane. Characteristics of Jane's family and community background appear to be the major factors in development of her potential as a leader. Certain features of her own strong personality, particularly self-assertiveness and a strong sense of direction, are also evident throughout the questionnaire.

Jane's home is a two-room cabin in a small village which has no more modern facilities than most villages of its size but is located only a couple of hours by river from larger centers and regular transportation. She is second oldest of twelve children in one of the village's larger and very stable families. Her mother is a Full Blood, her father of mixed parentage. Both parents are better educated than the average -- her mother with six years and father with eight years of school. Jane's father, though now not working, has held regular jobs much of his adult life and is known for being a good provider. Both parents are well respected in the village.

Jane's ties to her village and family are strong as shown by her stated preference for going to school at home "where I could talk more with my parents," her continued close friendships with fellow students from her home village, and her intention to return to her home village as a teacher. She repeatedly cites her parents as influential in her decision-making and as a source of encouragement to go on in school. In response to several of the hypothetical questions, she chooses alternatives which would allow her to be near and help people from her home community. She is active in ceremonial dancing, for which her village is particularly noted, and wants her children to learn both dancing and the Indian language, further evidence of her traditional cultural and community ties.

Jane is an exceptionally energetic and enthusiastic person with strong opinions about both school matters and the problems of her people. She has achieved exceptionally well academically at Mt. Edgecumbe and has been a participant and leader in activities including being Student Council Representative for the junior class and a frequent performer and organizer for school assembly programs. She feels close to several teachers as well as some staff of the Upward Bound program which she attended during the summer of 1968. On the other hand, she is strongly critical of the prejudiced attitudes of a few teachers.

She has both praise and criticism for the school's encouragement of Indian leadership. She says that while "most teachers encourage us to return to our village and help our people," the school should "help more to teach [us] to be leaders." Effective Indian leadership is vital in Jane's opinion: "otherwise the Whites will try to cheat us," referring particularly to the

Native Land Claims issue.

Marie. Marie was one of the most outstanding of the Athapaskan students on all dimensions of leadership potential. Her aspiration to be a leader was particularly strong, as demonstrated by the fact that she is the only student to volunteer that her long-range plan is "to be a Native leader." Encouragement and support for her plans have come primarily from her peers and persons in authority, particularly in her educational experiences.

There is little in Marie's family background that provides models or support for her goals. She is Full Blood and has lived all her life in villages. She is the third of four children and, though her family is stable, they are among the poorest in the community. Alcohol has also been a particularly severe problem. Neither parent had more than a year or two of schooling. While one older brother graduated from high school and tried a vocational course at college for a few months, the other brother is currently three years below grade as a junior in high school.

Marie does not report any influence from her parents nor discussion with them about either school or her future plans. Instead, she attributes influence and support for her decisions either to herself alone or to school staff and close friends. Two of her friends, one of whom is white, are also ambitious and plan to attend college for four years. Marie's experiences at two Upward Bound summer programs also appear to have been important sources of guidance, information and encouragement. She mentions, for instance, that her interest in sociology and anthropology, which she plans to study in college, come from conversations with a professor at Upward Bound. At the end of her second summer in the program she was chosen to receive a special honor as the most outstanding junior-year student in the program.

Apparently a "natural leader," Marie has not only taken a strong leadership role at the small school in Tanana, but from an interview with the school's principal, it is apparent that the school depended almost completely on Marie and one or two other students for the ideas and organization of virtually all school activities. From this experience, Marie may have gained the skills and self-confidence necessary to give impetus to her future plans.

Marie's goals are very specifically to be of service to her people. She selects "social work" as her first choice from the list of Ideal Occupations, and her purpose in studying social sciences is to understand the problems of her people. Her goals do not suggest direct concern with personal upward mobility, but rather to develop and use her own abilities to better the living conditions of her people.

Nevertheless, Marie feels both anxiety and ambivalence in pursuing such ambitious goals. Although she states in response to a question in the interview that she is better off than most other Indians, "because I am happy," she also expresses trepidation about such acts as moving away from her home community. Her responses to the hypothetical questions reflect her own careful rationalizations for leaving home to study and to work, and she says in one response that the job of convincing her parents that she has to leave is a grave problem for her. It also seems that she is further committed to these plans by pressure of the recognition of her abilities by others. That is, opportunities offered to her have begun to require obligation and commitment from her in return. A most revealing comment on her predicament is her response to the question, "Who would you trade places with if you could?" Marie replied, "Someone who is just living a regular life; who knows what they're doing every day; who doesn't have to worry about going to college."

Carol. Carol, a Mixed Blood, is also assimilated in many of her attitudes and goals. She is ambitious for herself and, at the same time, wants to "help the Native villages get on their feet." Second oldest child in a stable family, Carol has reasonably strong role models for education in her family. Both parents completed elementary school, and her older brother is entering college this fall. Her boyfriend is a college student and plans to be a teacher, which is also Carol's occupational goal. She plans to live in village communities, preferably near home, and teach there "because the people need teachers that stay and that understand the children."

Carol has transferred back and forth between Copper Valley and Tanana high schools. She was at Tanana this year but will return to Copper Valley for her senior year. She particularly likes the school spirit and activities at Copper Valley, though she was a strong leader at Tanana along with Marie. She talked frequently with teachers but did not feel close to or influenced by them, though she says that the principal, along with her parents and friends, influenced her to go to college.

Carol is ambitious both in school and for her future. She would like to trade places with a doctor "because they're so respected." In responses to hypothetical questions, she selects the more ambitious alternatives when referring to other people, "because there aren't many jobs in the villages." She would stay in the village as head of the Community Action Project because "most villages need a good leader." Carol does not restrict her perspective to Alaska in considering where to go to college. She is the only respondent who mentioned colleges outside the state. Her outlook may also have been broadened by two years at Upward Bound.

Carol currently expects to help her people through teaching and service to her community. She recognizes, however, that the new Native leadership lies in the political field, and she admires Native legislators and those "who attend the Chiefs' conferences" (Tanana Chiefs' Conference). Her strong will and ambitious nature may eventually lead her into this type of leadership as well.

Ben. Ben, the third full leader from Tanana, attended Copper Valley all four years of high school. He comes from a family whose style of life reflects partial assimilation, both physical and cultural, and who appear to have escaped many of the emotional and social pitfalls of this process while striving for still further assimilation in terms of economic and social standards of living. Ben is second oldest of four children. His older sister graduated from Tanana. Ben's mother is Mixed Blood, a high school graduate, and holds a job of considerable responsibility in the community. Ben's father supervises building construction for the town, though his education is only through fourth grade. Ben admires his father deeply, and the latter is currently a strong role model for him. One personal characteristic which may affect Ben's attitude toward himself, particularly his Indian identity, is that his physical appearance belies his 3/4 Indian blood; that is, he would not be recognized by sight as Indian.

Ben's future goals appear to be contradictory. On the one hand, he plans to attend the University of Alaska, majoring in a science. A basis for this goal is supported by the fact that his favorite subject in school was biology, that he selects scientist and college professor as his ideal occupations, and that his parents have strongly supported his desire to go to college. On the other hand, Ben's long-range goal is to do building construction work in a village community, like his father now does. He remarks that he is going to college "to please my parents, not myself." He plans to return to a village to live "because there's more to do, like hunting and fishing" and "in a village you can be a leader -- it's harder in a city."

It is true that Ben could theoretically complete college and return to a village to pursue construction work, but his high-level ideal goals suggest that he hasn't accepted this compromise and that he is actually conflictful about which route to pursue -- high achievement or familiar security.

Ben's desire to be recognized as a leader also complicates the picture of his goals. He says that the main influence on his desire to become a leader has been "not being one." He clearly misses or desires this kind of acceptance and respect. Ben has been recognized as academically able, but perhaps he has not experienced the feeling of acceptance as an Indian by other Indians. Consequently, he may see village leadership, modeled after his father, as a possible solution to his insecurity.

The intellectual simulation and further social opportunities of college may combine to show Ben that he can achieve acceptance and recognition through his ideal vocational goals, or help him to choose between his conflicting interests and needs. Ben is able and motivated, but whether and what kind of leadership he eventually assumes will not be clear for some time.

George. George, a junior at Copper Valley, is undecided about many aspects of his future goals. He is unsure about his desire to be a leader, but he wants to perpetuate Indian culture through school courses as well as in the community and by teaching children. He also participated in traditional activities, such as dancing and singing, and he speaks some Indian. He also wants a job that will give him the opportunity to help people, and he thinks that one should choose a job which would mean helping one's community over one which would offer a lot of money.

George's grades are in the B- range, and he thinks he will probably go to college, maybe the University of Alaska. He also has no definite future vocational goals, so it is unclear whether he will actually develop his interests in the direction of leadership. Some of his indecision may be because he is only a junior and has not yet received much vocational guidance. His responses to questions about training for various jobs indicate that he is not well informed about jobs or post-high school education, and that he has not given much thought to these problems. Perhaps he has either been unwilling to look ahead or has not yet received much guidance, or both.

The strongest influence on George has been his mother, who has talked to him frequently about school and has encouraged him to go on to college.

He also seeks both her guidance and her approval. George is the oldest of eight children, and neither of his parents has had more than a few years of elementary school. Consequently, like Marie, he lacks family role models for upward mobility and higher education. Two of his three closest friends have also dropped out of school, though both have returned and all are younger or the same age as George. He doesn't know about their future plans. The strong influence of his mother thus appears to be the determining factor in George's desire to achieve.

George indicates in responses to the hypothetical questions that he would place helping the community above other alternative values. He does not plan to return to live in his home village, however. He currently plans to live in Fairbanks, and he would like to live in a city "outside" (Alaska) for awhile.

In sum, George has not yet focused his interests or goals. He is still primarily motivated by the wishes of his mother rather than his own desires, though there seems to be no problem of conflict as in Ben's case. Instead, George has simply not yet attempted to define his own aims. There are a number of characteristics in his attitudes and achievement thus far that suggest that George does have high potential for leadership.

Students Without Leadership Plans

The three students, Kathy, Sarah, and Paul, who do not have leadership plans differ from the five Athapaskan students with full leadership potential in characteristics of their families and home communities.

All but one of the full leaders have lived in the same communities all their lives. (The fifth one was born in a small village and moved only once when whe was 8 years old to a larger village.) The villages of these leaders can all be described as medium or large sized, centrally located with respect to being both near other villages and on the main rivers of interior Alaska. In contrast, Kathy and Sarah have lived in at least three different communities, including both cities and isolated villages. Paul has lived all his life in one of the smallest, most remote Athapaskan villages. As compared with the situation for the full leaders, then, the residential pattern for the two girls is much less stable and for the boy it is more isolated.

Family instability and lack of parental support also characterize two of these students without plans. Whereas all the families of the full leaders are stable, Sarah's parents have been divorced for several years. She has very strong ties to her mother, indicated by her plan to live most of her life in Anchorage "because that's where Mom is." Her dependence on this relationship with her mother may also be preventing Sarah from developing or using her abilities more fully. After graduation, she intends to obtain some secretarial training, but her long-range goal is to be a wife and mother. Sarah says that her mother has talked to her about college, but apparently she does not have sufficient motivation to pursue such a goal. Since Sarah is only a junior, she may yet receive sufficiently strong encouragement from her mother as well as from school staff to overcome her primary desire to be near her mother and to interest her in pursuing higher educational goals.

Sarah's lack of initiative may also be affected by her being the ninth of ten children. Though three of the leaders come from large families of from eight to twelve children, all are either oldest or second oldest siblings. It may be speculated that as has been found in studies of urban families, oldest children are more achievement-motivated.

Lack of parental support is a characteristic of Paul in contrast to the two boys who are full potential leaders. The latter report that their parents influenced them both to stay in school and in their post-graduation plans and that their parents would not allow them to drop out of school. In both cases, the boys' mothers played a major role. In contrast, Paul's support from home is low. He indicates that his mother's reaction to his dropping out would be mild: "she wouldn't like it." He names his father as most influential in his staying in school, and reports his guidance counselor at school as the only person influential on his plans for next year. His parents are clearly not providing support for higher education goals, which can be ascribed, at least in part, to the physical and social isolation of their village as compared with the home communities of the full potential leaders.

Though Kathy shares residential instability with Sarah, her family is stable and supportive. We might consider that, in reality, Kathy does not lack leadership plans. Though she intends to become a public health nurse, which we do not define as a high-level service (and therefore leadership) occupation, she expects to receive her training at a university and perhaps to receive a B.S. degree in the process.

Students Without Aspiration to Leadership

Bob. Bob, the only student who has leadership potential in all respects except aspiration, is also exceptional in his occupational goal, to become a medical doctor. The ambition is not merely fantasy, since his high school grade point is above a B average, and teachers have both supported and helped him plan the steps necessary to reach his goal. His desire to help and even lead his people has thus been specifically channeled into his career, and one which, at least for the time being, may leave little room for thinking about avocational aspirations.

In order to better clarify the meaning of Bob's response as well as the general meaning of various responses to the aspiration question, some aspects of the question should be examined. The aspiration question asked if the student hoped to become a leader in his (home) community. Some students who wished to become active in tribal or statewide politics or other issues, whether representing Athapaskan or broader groups, may have responded negatively to the question because their interest is not in a particular community. Others who have lived in several communities or who intend to settle in a different community from the one in which they were reared, also may have responded negatively, having interpreted the question to exclude themselves since they don't intend to remain in their "home community."

Both of these interpretations may apply to Bob. The second one may apply because Bob has lived in four villages and in Anchorage. In addition, he may expect that his practice will require him to either live in a city or be too mobile to take on a leadership role in any one community. As a doctor, he will not be concerned with his people as members of a particular community, so the first interpretation may also apply.

Bob's negative response to the aspiration question can be seen not as a lack of interest in being a leader, but as a lack of interest in being specifically a community leader.

He has thus viewed the concept of leadership in relatively narrow terms, whereas it is clear that if he works among his people, even in a city, Bob will obtain the prestige and exert the influence characteristic of leadership in our broader sense.

Students Without Social Qualification

The students who have all types of leadership potential except for social qualification are both Full Blood girls from small villages who attend Mt. Edgecumbe. Two factors which may have hindered the school leadership of both girls are social orientation to peers outside the school setting and limited opportunity for visibility within the social structure of Mt. Edgecumbe. Personality factors, particularly shyness, also appear to be important.

Both girls seem more socially oriented toward their home communities than toward their school and classmates. For instance, they both name as friends only people from their home villages, some of whom do not attend Mt. Edgecumbe or are not in the same year of school. None of Ann's friends are in her class. Her plan to stay in her home community, one of the more remote villages in Alaska, for a year after graduation and before entering college further indicates her strong ties to home. Students from the smaller outlying villages are frequently shyer than other students. This characteristic might have prevented Ann from making friends in school.

Most of Barbara's friends from home are in her class at school, but in social situations as well as personal relationships she seems to take a follower rather than leader role. Barbara is specifically described by the interviewer as a shy, non-assertive girl, whereas her closest friend is one of the more outspoken students in this class. Though she has the same occupational goal as her friend, to be a teacher, Barbara says that she plans to attend a junior college, rather than the University of Alaska, after she graduates. This plan may indicate either some lack of independence in her occupational choice or a lack of self-confidence in her ability. It may be that Barbara's social assertiveness and self-confidence have not caught up with her other abilities, or that her friendship ties have artifically influenced her interests and goals, some of which may be modified when she is separated from these friends.

The small number of Athapaskans and large student body at Mt. Edgecumbe also affects the probability of an Athapaskan student in being either active or recognized as a leader by peers and teachers, particularly as measured for this study. Most of the students named as good potential Mt. Edgecumbe leaders by respondents were non-Athapaskans (15/23 by the juniors; 21/27 by the seniors). Most of the top student body offices are filled by non-Athapaskans, particularly Eskimos, who make up the largest ethnic division of the students at Mt. Edgecumbe. It is probable that Athapaskans are actually underrepresented in school activity offices in the school, simply because they are probably nearly always a minority in any organized group, and because the ethnic groups do tend to be relatively socially cohesive. Other factors including low teacher response rates also lowered the probability of a student being named as a potential leader by teachers.

It appears that for an Athapaskan at Mt. Edgecumbe to meet our standards of social qualification for leadership requires greater effort from the student and a more outstanding social position than is necessary for this qualification at several of the other schools.

Students Without Academic Qualification

Two students have below average class rank but are high on all other leadership scales. Julie is just below the class average and well above a C average grade point, while Roy is reported as having the lowest grade point in his class, just above a D average. In spite of the difference in their levels of achievement, the students share a significant aspect of school experience: both devote a major portion of their energy to and receive high rewards from participation in non-academic aspects of school.

Julie is involved in school activities more heavily than most students in her class. She is a varsity cheerleader and, in addition, participates in a wide variety of other activities including school chorus, newspaper staff and pep club. Julie's preference for learning by doing is philosophically stated in her graduation motto: "Experience is the child of thought and thought is the child of action. We cannot learn men from books." It should be emphasized that Julie hasn't done poorly in school, but much of her time, interest, and effort have been allotted to extra-curricular rather than academic achievement. In discussing her future goals, there is some indication that Julie may be prepared to alter the allocation of her efforts toward greater academic achievement since she wants to become a teacher. She has attended Upward Bound and attributes the major influence on her future plans to this experience.

Roy also rejects books in favor of other kinds of achievement, particularly sports. Roy is captain of the school basketball team. The seriousness of his interest in the sport is reflected in his occupational goal to become a physical education teacher and in his choice of Wilt Chamberlin as the person he most admires. Classwork clearly comes second to basketball, and Roy freely admits that the latter is what keeps him in school. In classroom work, his interest and strongest abilities tend to be in areas which require mechanical or physical skills. For instance, he would like to see courses in woodwork and mechanics added to the curriculum, and admits that he has a lot of difficulty with math. He says that he would like more homework assigned in some courses, which may indicate that he is bored or feels that he could learn more if the presentation were more interesting. Although it is impossible to know whether, in spite of his low record, Roy will be able to succeed in college or to become a teacher or coach, the level of educational achievement in his family is exceptionally high. Both parents completed high school, and his older sister, whose influence he mentions several times, is finishing her senior year at the University of Alaska.

In both these cases, low class rank is not indicative of overall experience of failure, nor can it be concluded that the student will be unable to reach his occupational goal. Both students have exhibited strong leadership and achievement in areas which interest them, and may well continue to be leaders.

Conclusion

Factors which appear most important in maximizing leadership potential for Athapaskans are generally similar to those for the Sioux. Family support for the students is a strong characteristic among most of the five potential leaders, and family stability is characteristic of all five full leaders. Like the Sioux, leadership plans are most clearly influenced by these family factors.

School variables exercise the major influence on the development of social qualification for leadership. The problem of lack of visibility to peers and teachers, which was noted for the Sioux, may apply to the situation of Athapaskan students where there are limited leadership opportunities relative to the size of the school population. Where the Athapaskan student finds it personally difficult to assert himself socially, where the competition for social recognition excludes too many students, or where activities are few and participation is not strongly encouraged, even students with leadership potential may choose to center their social life and support outside the school context or its regular activities.

Exceptional achievement and recognition in non-academic areas is a major factor in the low academic achievement of those Athapaskan students otherwise qualified for leadership. Lack of motivation to achieve academically, mentioned in the Sioux analysis, results for these deviant Athapaskan cases from the existence of sufficient rewards outside the formal academic system. For the basketball player, his athletic achievement is even directly related to his future goals, making it difficult for him to recognize the need for his achievement in the classroom. Since he comes from a relatively well educated family, there is also some reason for believing that his "bottom-level" grades do not reflect lack of ability so much as a deliberate allocation of his interest and energy. In both cases, the students' recognition of the need for good grades has increased, suggesting that their poorer grades may have been from earlier years in high school. Earlier guidance as to the value of academic achievement might have encouraged them to allocate more effort to academic achievement. Unlike the Sioux cases, transferring and the absence of family role models do not appear to be significant factors. We would expect some differences between the two tribes in factors affecting the lack of academic qualification for leadership since, as discussed in Chapter III, there are important differences in factors affecting academic performance, e.g. various effects of ethnic balance in Alaskan schools contrasted with the near absence of ethnic mixture in the Pine Ridge schools.

Sioux students' aspiration to leadership frequently conflicts with the other aspects of potential, and considerable support is required to overcome ambitious students' negative feeling about living on the reservation. In contrast, since aspiration is highly related to all other aspects of leadership potential for the Athapaskan students, it is likely that an Athapaskan student with one type of qualification will also aspire to leadership. In the single case of an Athapaskan student lacking only aspiration for leadership, his concern with becoming a doctor understandably overshadows all other interests, while his actual role as a leader is virtually guaranteed so long as he lives in Alaska.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the body of this study we have drawn conclusions concerning the substantive material presented in the chapters. In this final portion of the study we shall utilize some of our findings in order to make suggestions for ways in which the schools can better serve their Indian students and the Indian communities as a whole by helping the students to develop their leadership potential.

At many points in our report we suggested that the overall situations in relation to leadership are different in the two Indian cultures under study. We shall first briefly review these overall situations and suggest what their implications for the role of schools are in terms of the development of leadership. We shall then turn to suggestions for the schools derived from specific findings in the report which are not as crucial to the question of leadership.

The Pine Ridge Reservation is a politico-economic and cultural unit. The major institutions within this unit -- the churches, the schools and the administrative apparatus -- are controlled from the outside. Even thos institutions which are theoretically under tribal control are, in fact, heavily influenced by or dependent upon non-Indian agencies. For instance, all legislation passed by the Tribal Council must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and the Tribal Court which theoretically has reservation-wide jurisdiction, in fact, is allowed to handle only petty offenses. Regardless of the causes of this state of affairs (the legacy of assimilation policy perhaps, or the natural matastisis of a federal administration) the training of Indian leaders could create a force for change in the direction of Indian control of Indian institutions.

However, as we have noted repeatedly, the Pine Ridge Reservation does not offer the opportunities for economic and social advancement so important to Sioux students completing high school. Many of these students see no alternative but to leave their homes in order to pursue their personal goals. Very few of them are interested in remaining on the reservation and becoming leaders although they may have other characteristics and attitudes which indicate that they could be effective leaders.

It is our assertion that the schools could alter this situation. Although changes in the social and economic conditions on the reservation must come from a variety of sources, the schools could be influential in transforming the attitudes of the students. For instance, the students have a negative attitude about the possibilities for improvement in reservation conditions. The schools could teach them that improvement is possible and suggest ways in which changes could be brought about, e.g. through pressure on the government or inducements to industry to settle in the area. Such suggestions could easily take place in the setting on a social studies class. The students are also concerned with being upwardly mobile and deriving prestige from their occupations. The schools seem to be reinforcing these concerns, but they could do otherwise. They could teach the students that there are other values worth striving for, that leadership of one's own people is as important as high prestige, that financial security can come from applying one's skills and knowledge in service to one's own community. Similarly, many students seem to have negative feelings about their own cultural traditions and their own Indian people. The schools could be changing these feelings by teaching the students more about their people and by stressing the value of traditional Indian ways of doing things. As was shown in Chapter II, when the teachers at the schools are concerned with preserving the traditional Indian customs, the students themselves have more positive attitudes.

Specifically, then, for Pine Ridge we are suggesting an intensive program of study and guidance designed to help the students see alternatives to leaving the reservation; to encourage them to assume leadership roles; and to prepare them for these roles. Such a program could include the following types of components:

1. Special courses on Indian life and culture
2. Instruction in the Indian language
3. Direct application of theoretical course material to reservation life: e.g., students could be encouraged to write reports for history, sociology, etc., drawing on reservation data
4. Outside speakers, including community leaders and personnel of other agencies
5. Opportunities for students to take part in and better understand the governing process on the reservation; e.g., high school students could spend time visiting and working in all important offices

In terms of guidance specifically the program would mean the encouragement of students to take preparation in those fields which could be used on the reservation. This need not mean narrowing the occupational choices of the students, but rather redirecting them, away from such fields as computers and business, towards such fields as medicine, law, and agricultural sciences.

Of course, none of these suggestions will have any impact if the teachers in the schools are not wholeheartedly behind them and do not, themselves, believe that self-determination is a valuable goal for the Indians. The schools should try to find teachers interested in the life of the Indian community and should, in fact, try to use the manpower of these communities (as teacher aides, etc.) so that students are not educated solely by people whose values differ radically from their own.

Athapaskans are not faced with the choice between economic opportunity and living among their people since both can be carried out within Alaska. Many jobs do require leaving a small village for one of the larger communities or a city, but, as has been pointed out in the later chapters of this report, there is a growing awareness of the need for Athapaskan leadership on the state-wide as well as local community levels.

This move to political self-determination by Alaskan native groups is partially a departure from the assimilation which has been seen by both Whites and most native groups as a desirable process. Until the rise of the Native Land Claims issue, assimilation meant for the Indian and Eskimo almost total rejection of their traditional heritage and culture. Land Claims has encouraged Athapaskans and other native Alaskans to preserve some of this heritage, on the one hand, and to obtain greater control over their own lives through education and political organizations, on the other.

This report has shown that the current education of most Athapaskans, while a great increase over their parents' education, stops below the academic college level. Athapaskan students tend to view education in strictly instrumental terms -- how much education is necessary to get a good job -- and the schools have apparently encouraged this attitude. In most cases, this "good job" means a skilled or technical-level occupation. This type of education is essentially vocational and, as such, fits with the oldest type of paternalistic attitude of White Men toward Alaskan natives. It does not allow development of the intellectual competence and skill required for actual self-determination or for potential participation in all social and economic levels of the broader society. The development of an independent and effective Athapaskan leadership, in our broad sense of the term, requires that the schools encourage able students to strive not merely for enough training to get "a good job" but for an education which will give them the skill and prestige to be of full service to their people.

The apparent ceiling on the aspiration level of most Athapaskan students can be raised by the efforts of guidance programs in these schools. Students are not likely to aspire to professional-level occupations by virtue of encouragement from home. Upward mobility is commonly viewed as a step-by-step process, both by the upwardly mobile and by educators. We assert that this attitude is untenable and only impedes the progress of able students. It is imperative that the schools accept responsibility for providing both information and support for higher occupational goals.

Emphasis on professional-level occupations such as lawyer, doctor, scientist, and engineer should be increased in the various vocational materials and programs. Students like those who are now entering two-year training programs in technical-level engineering should be given every encouragement to raise their aspirations to a full Bachelor's degree in engineering. Complete information on financial aid available for students wishing to pursue higher education does not seem to be reaching the students and perhaps not the schools either. It is obviously critical that money not be an unnecessary barrier to students' obtaining a college education. More information should also be obtained on colleges outside the State of Alaska, particular smaller, private institutions which are frequently interested in admitting and providing financial support for students from minority groups or with unusual backgrounds. We realize that not all students can succeed in college or attain professional level occupations. Nevertheless, we believe that every student should be encouraged to utilize his potential fully.

In the course of the early chapters of this report a number of specific findings emerged which involve various aspects of the educational process. Below we draw on these findings in order to suggest possible improvements in secondary education for Indians.

We found in Chapter II that in both Pine Ridge and Alaska students expressed dissatisfaction with the variety of courses offered in the schools and especially with the lack of sufficient courses for college preparation. We realize that in many cases the schools are limited because of small numbers of students and staff and insufficient funding and facilities. Nevertheless, we feel it is imperative that the schools in some way provide the students with adequate preparation for higher education. This might be achieved through summer courses in programs such as Upward Bound. Extra tutoring for students in special areas, such as language or advanced mathematics, might be provided. Another possibility is for students to take such courses at nearby junior colleges. Student interests should also be taken into account in planning curriculum changes.

In Chapter III, we discussed factors which influence the performance of students in school. For the Pine Ridge students, our findings were consistently that the more assimilated students, in terms of blood, language at home, and parental education and employment, performed better in school. Schools should be aware of this relationship and attempt to give special attention to the problems of those students whose backgrounds make it less likely that they will do well in school.

Athapaskans in schools with a majority of white students tend to perform below average for their class. Again, schools should be aware that student performance is sometimes a result of the social structure and expectations in the classroom rather than lack of innate ability. For instance, a Full Blood Indian's sense that both his teachers and peers expect that he will not do as well in school as a Mixed Blood or White classmate may lower his own motivations.

For both Indian groups support and encouragement from home has important effects on a student's performance, plans, and level of aspiration. In view of these findings, we suggest that the schools increase their efforts to make parents a part of the educational process. Parents should be provided with vocational information, including the types of training required for various occupations. Information on colleges, academic programs, sources of financial aid, and requirements for admission should also reach parents of high school students. Most parents of Indian students interviewed did not complete high school. Where feasible, the schools should consider establishing adult education programs. Such programs would not only raise the general level of education in the community but would also enable these parents to better understand and help their children with academic questions.

Athapaskan and Sioux students are committed to education primarily for instrumental reasons. We have already suggested that the schools encourage a less goal-oriented view of higher education. In addition, high schools might both utilize and reinforce this general commitment by having upper classmen speak to junior high and younger high school students about the importance of completing high school, their own difficulties, and the relationship between education and the goals of Indians.

The impact of school guidance programs on the students' post-high school educational plans was demonstrated in Chapter V. We want to stress the importance of beginning guidance early enough to motivate students to achieve maximally in high school and to become aware of the education required for various occupations so that they can take full advantage of the post-high school alternatives open to them.

Also in Chapter V, we saw that girls frequently reject even as ideal occupations those jobs for which they have no visible role models. It is therefore important to broaden the range of occupations introduced through guest speakers, vocation day programs, and audio-visual means. For boys, there is frequently a discrepancy between what they would like to do and what they plan to do. The guidance program should enable more of these students to attain their occupational aspirations.

In a question which was not analyzed in the body of this research because of poor response rate, we asked the students how they thought the schools could better prepare them for their future. Many of those students who answered requested more information on "what it's like to live in a city" and how to cope with the problems of living away from parents and among non-Indians. The need for more information on how to go about actually getting a job was mentioned by several students.

* * *

It is our hope that this study will help the secondary schools serving Indians to better meet the needs of the Indian communities, in particular the need for Indian leadership. As this was an exploratory study, in both method and substance, we hope that further studies on Indian leadership will be done employing some of the variables we have suggested here. It is also our contention that to best serve the Indian people, such studies should be conducted by or in consultation with Indians.

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APPENDIX A

Rank Order of Job Characteristics by Sex

PINE RIDGE

Boys	Girls
Stable and secure future	Stable and secure future
Chance to earn money	Helpful to others
Helpful to others	Opportunity to work with people
Lets you know what job is*	Chance to earn money
Chance for adventure*	Chance for adventure
Opportunity to work with people	High standing and importance*
Chance to be a leader	Free of supervision*
High standing and importance	Chance to be creative and original
Chance to be creative and original	Lets you know what job is
Free of supervision*	Take time off
Take time off*	Chance to be a leader
Work alone	Work alone
Stay near home	Stay near home

ALASKA

Boys	Girls
Chance to earn money	Stable and secure future
Stable and secure future	Helpful to others
Helpful to others	Opportunity to work with people
Chance for adventure*	Chance to earn money
Lets you know what job is*	Lets you know what job is
Opportunity to work with people	Chance for adventure
Chance to be creative and original	Chance to be creative and original
High standing and importance*	Stay near home
Free of supervision*	Free of supervision
Chance to be a leader	Chance to be a leader
Take time off	Take time off
Stay near home	High standing and importance
Work alone	Work alone

*Items marked with an asterisk were ranked the same.

APPENDIX B

INTERRELATIONS AMONG THE THREE VARIABLES USED FOR THE INDEX OF SOCIAL QUALIFICATION

As might be expected, the three variables used for the Index of Social Qualification are frequently related to one another. However, the degree of interrelations does vary somewhat from school to school. Therefore we will analyze each set of relationships separately.

Pine Ridge

O.C.S.: In the larger of the two schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation we find a certain amount of consensus on selections for leadership although this consensus is far from complete. Within each grade level the strongest relationships occur between student nominations and current leadership positions. Juniors and seniors are both most likely to nominate as potential leaders individuals who have already assumed leadership positions, as shown in Table B-1.

TABLE B-1

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Students According to Leadership in Activities (OCS)

Nominated by Students	Juniors		Seniors	
	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	60%	13%	75%	36%
No	40	87	25	64
N =	(10)	(37)	(12)	(28)

There is also, within the senior class at least, a fair degree of agreement between choices by teachers and choices by students. Within the junior class, which is far larger, there is no real agreement between the teachers and students.

TABLE B-2

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Students According to Students Nominated by Teachers (OCS)

	Juniors		Seniors	
	Students Nominated by Teachers		Students Nominated by Teachers	
Nominated by Students	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	28%	23%	83%	41%
No	72	77	17	59
N =	(7)	(40)	(6)	(34)

In part, this lack of consensus between student and teacher choices can be explained by the fact that teachers in O.C.S. do not necessarily tend to choose students who are already leaders in activities. The relationship between leader in activities and teacher nominations is almost nonexistent in the case of both juniors and seniors. (See Table B-3.)

TABLE B-3

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Teachers According to Leadership in Activities (OCS)

	Juniors		Seniors	
	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
Nominated by Teachers	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	10%	16%	25%	11%
No	90	84	75	89
N =	(10)	(37)	(12)	(28)

In general, then, the leadership structure of O.C.S. is rather loosely defined within the junior class and somewhat more tightly defined within the senior class. By the time students are seniors the good potential leaders are more apt to be recognized by both teachers and students and rewarded by holding leadership positions within the school. While students are juniors the class is still too large for individuals to have clearly demonstrated superior ability to both students and teachers.

H.R.M.: Within the much smaller H.R.M. there are strong relationships among all three leadership variables. Within each grade level there is a strong relationship between student nomination and leadership in activities, as shown in Table B-4.

TABLE B-4

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Students According to Leadership in Activities (HRM)

Nominated by Teachers	Juniors		Seniors	
	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	80%	27%	100%	33%
No	20	73	--	67
N =	(5)	(18)	(3)	(6)

And teachers, like students, tend to nominate students who have already assumed leadership positions within the school. (See Table B-5.)

TABLE B-5

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Students According to Students Nominated by Teachers

Nominated by Students	Juniors		Seniors	
	Nominated by Teachers		Nominated by Teachers	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	100%	17%	100%	20%
No	--	83	--	80
N =	(6)	(17)	(4)	(5)

Not surprisingly, therefore, there is consensus between students and teachers on nominations for potential leadership. (See Table B-6.)

TABLE B-6

Per Cent of Students Nominated by Teachers
by Leadership in Activities (HRM)

Nominated by Teachers	Juniors		Seniors	
	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	60%	17%	67%	33%
No	40	83	33	67
N =	(5)	(18)	(3)	(6)

Within the smaller school on the Pine Ridge Reservation, then, there is a great deal of consensus on who the strong potential leaders are. Students who have leadership potential in the eyes of their peers and teachers are visible at an earlier point than they are in the larger O.C.S.

Alaska

Relationships between the three items of social qualification will be shown for three of the six schools attended by Athapaskans in Alaska. They will not be broken down by classes since the relationships for schools are similar to those for classes with sufficient numbers, and the slightly larger numbers for schools are clearer. In the tables, numbers, not percentages, will be used.

Figures for the three other schools are not shown because the numbers were insufficient for one or more of the items to indicate any relationship. At Lathrop, no students interviewed were leaders in activities and none were nominated by students. Of the several students nominated by a large proportion of teachers, only one was interviewed, which suggests that those few students we were able to interview were not representative of the Athapaskan students at Lathrop on these variables. At Nenana, of the four Athapaskans interviewed, no students were nominated by teachers, and only one student had had leadership activities and had been nominated by peers. Only one Ft. Yukon student was a leader in activities, only one nominated by teachers and only two nominated by peers.

In Table B-7 we show the relationship of student nominations to leadership in school activities for students at Tanana, Mt. Edgecumbe, and Copper Valley. For students at all three schools, leadership in activities is likely to be accompanied by recognition of leadership ability by peers.

TABLE B-7

Number of Students Nominated by Students According to Leadership in Activities

	Tanana		Mt. Edgecumbe		Copper Valley	
Nominated by Students	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	3	1	2	2	3	3
No	1	2	1	20	1	3
Total	(4)	(3)	(3)	(22)	(4)	(6)

Leadership in Activities is related to teacher nominations at Tanana and Mt. Edgecumbe, though not at Copper Valley, as we see in Table B-8. The teachers at Copper Valley apparently tended to use criteria other than leadership in formal school activities in identifying potential leaders. It may be that the intimate nature of this boarding school allowed teachers to see more characteristics of the students than would be normally visible in a larger or non-boarding school, and therefore their nominations were based on broader assessments of the student's capacity for leadership than his leadership in formal school activities.

TABLE B-8

Number of Students Nominated by Teachers According to Leadership in Activities

	Tanana		Mt. Edgecumbe		Copper Valley	
Nominated by Teachers	Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities		Leadership in Activities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	3	0	2	5	1	4
No	1	2	1	17	3	2
Total	(4)	(2)	(3)	(22)	(4)	(6)

In all three schools there is high consensus between students and teachers on those students who would make good leaders in the community, as shown in Table B-9. It is interesting to note that for Copper Valley students, students and teachers do tend to nominate the same people more than either group tends to choose formal student leaders as the best potential leaders.

TABLE B-9

Number of Students Nominated by Students According to Students Nominated by Teachers

	Tanana		Mt. Edgecumbe		Copper Valley	
Nominated by Students	Nominated by Teachers		Nominated by Teachers		Nominated by Teachers	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	3	1	4	0	4	2
No	0	3	3	18	1	3
Total	(3)	(4)	(7)	(18)	(5)	(5)

APPENDIX C

Methodology

There were several major difficulties in this study which we feel should be discussed both to give a more complete picture of the way in which the research was conducted than that which is presented in the methodological section of the Introduction and for whatever value they might have for future researchers.

Exploratory Study Design. In part the difficulties we will be discussing were anticipated. The study was an exploratory one and to an important degree designed to sort out those areas most amenable to study. Lengthy student and teacher questionnaires enabled us to include a broad variety of questions with the hope that they would provide understanding of the picture of education and its relation to Indian leadership. Although much of the material gathered could not be employed in the final analysis, the project enabled us to discover which types of material were, in fact, useful and possible to obtain.

Comparative Study Design. The fact that this study was designed to compare two Indian cultures also created a host of difficulties which were not easily overcome. First, there were problems in writing the questionnaires: questions had to be adapted to both cultures. This led to difficulties in phrasing and in selecting examples (as in the hypothetical questions). Furthermore, the varying cultural norms made it all the more difficult to know what type of personal questions could be asked and how to phrase these questions.

In addition to the problems of writing the questionnaire there were problems of conducting the research once the project directors were in the field. Since one project director was in Alaska and the other one was in South Dakota, they were unable to communicate easily with each other and since neither one had a clerical staff last-minute changes could not be made in the questionnaires. A number of difficulties arose from this situation. For instance, the project director in Alaska found that a number of the questions had to be changed if she were to obtain any information from them. However, by changing the questionnaire without corresponding changes being introduced in the questionnaires used in South Dakota certain data lost its comparative value.

Similarly, there were difficulties in hiring interviewers about which information could not be relayed. The Project Director in South Dakota found that interviews went as well, if not better, when the interviewer knew the respondent, than when the interviewer was not known to the respondent (a situation which was relatively rare in any case among the small population of Pine Ridge). In Alaska, however, few respondents were known to the interviewers (because of the wide geographical area) and all interviewing was done by "strangers." The project director avoided having interviewers administer the questionnaire to people they knew as this had been the original decision about interviewing and she was unaware until it was too late that circumstances had influenced the project director in South Dakota to alter this decision.

Finally, a number of problems of analysis derived from the comparative study design. Since students in the two cultures interpreted questions somewhat differently, analysis of the responses was complicated. The most striking example was that Sioux and Athapaskan students had slightly different concepts of "home community" and "leadership." Therefore, a response to the question asking, "Do you hope someday to become a leader in your community?" had to be interpreted separately for the two groups.

Student Questionnaire. In general we feel some dissatisfaction with the interview method as employed in this study. First, the questionnaire was too long -- a good interview could take well over an hour -- and the respondents often began to resent such a long intrusion on their time. Second, the interview included too many questions asking for personal information (e.g., "Name your three best friends") and some respondents seemed angry at the probing into matters that they considered private. In some cases there was a decided change in the tone of the respondent after a personal question and he became resistant to any further interviewing. Third, the interview included too many questions about school which were overlapping. Some respondents seemed to find the questions repetitious and some appeared afraid that if they mentioned specific teachers in school it could be used against them in the future. Although the introduction to the questionnaire stated that the answers given would be strictly confidential, some students remained unconvinced and suspicious of our intent. Finally, it seems that for Indians, who are often shy and hesitant to express definite opinions, the interview was too tightly structured. Perhaps it would have been better if they had been allowed to speak more freely about issues that were important to them. Although this would have made analysis of the data far more difficult, the advantages of more complete information might outweigh this inconvenience, particularly for a more definitive study.

A number of problems could have been avoided had we pretested the questionnaire. However a series of unfortunate circumstances precluded this possibility. First, funding for the project was very late and since all interviews had to be completed during the summer months while the researchers were in the field, we were short on time. Second, all students interviewed in the two areas were included in the study and therefore there were no "extra" subjects on whom the questionnaire could be tried out. Lack of time and money prevented the interviewers from travelling to other Indian areas to find suitable subjects. Finally, as was said above, communication between the two Project Directors was difficult. The interviewers in each area helped the project directors make some corrections on the interview (and interviewing by the project directors themselves brought out some problems) but the project directors did not have clerical help to make the necessary changes on the questionnaires and could not contact each other to relay information about changes being made.

Teacher Questionnaire. In addition to the problems of reaching the teachers outlined in the Introduction, there were a number of problems with the teacher questionnaire, similar to those of the students' questionnaire. First, the questionnaire was far too long, requiring much time and concentration if it were to be completed. The project directors should have been aware that many of these teachers had filled out questionnaires before and would begrudge the time to fill out another one, particularly a complex one. Second, the questionnaire included material on sensitive issues, and although this material was important to our analysis, perhaps it could have been phrased more tactfully.

Finally, a number of questions asked for information from which the teachers could possibly be identified, e.g., the subjects they taught and background data. If the investigator is not sure that this type of information is crucial for the final analysis, it should be omitted since its inclusion tends to lower the response rate.

APPENDIX D

LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of the literature employed in this study is organized in terms of its reference to the major variables. A short section on minority-group community leadership is followed by references concerned with the main dependent variables of Indian students' identity, plans, and attitudes toward their educational experiences; the independent variables of the educational setting; and the background factors.

The bulk of the literature on Indian education is concerned with factors in Indian student achievement and intellectual development (Anderson *et al.*, Coombs *et al.*, Havighurst and Neugarten, Rupiper, Snider and Coladarchi), personality adjustment (Bryde, Joseph *et al.*, Leighton and Kluckhohn, McGregor, 1946, Thompson and Joseph), evaluations of specific programs and schools (Benham, Blauch, Dale), and cultural and classroom experiences related to the drop-out (Hoyt, Ray, Wax and Wax 1964). Although the focus is chiefly on problems of in-school achievement rather than post-school aspirations, the literature touches on questions related to many of the major variables we have examined.

Discussion of the problem of developing *indigenous leadership* in minority-group communities is almost totally absent from the literature. Although currently recognized as an especially important need in the Negro slum communities, the question of local leadership has received little attention except from a few authors whose chief concern is with politics rather than with education (Alinsky). In the literature on

Indians the subject remained virtually untreated until the recent publication of two books concerned with the growing Indian political movement (Steiner, 1968, and Deloria, 1969). Both of these books are essentially polemical statements rather than empirical description or analysis, and neither is concerned primarily with the relationship of education to Indian Leadership. A number of questions raised by these two books should, however, be examined in any further study of Indian leadership. Earlier, two anthropologists focusing on the Pine Ridge Sioux noted that the more energetic and better educated youth often seek jobs off the reservation, thereby depriving their tribe of its next generation of effective leaders (McGregor 1946, Wax 1963). We are aware of only one study that has explored the need among Indian tribes for better educated members to fill leadership roles (Nix).

The Indian student's identity, or self-concept, has been studied as a major dependent variable related to racial factors (Helper and Garfield) and to both peer group influence and level of occupational aspiration (Abu-Laban). These two studies contributed valuable ideas to our research, particularly the use of background factors and the variable of social qualification.

Plans of Indian students can be divided into two main types: projected occupational or social roles; and intention to leave the reservation, permanently or temporarily, or to remain there. Occupational goal is an independent variable in several studies (Bernardini,* Dale, Ray *et al.*, 1962). It was shown that many Indians do not aspire to occupations requiring a high school education and that this is a factor in low educational achievement. Our study has indicated that the same type of factors now apply to post-high school plans.

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*This unpublished dissertation has not yet been obtained for actual review.

The results of the choices made by educated Indian youth to leave or to remain within their communities has been discussed in terms of the goals sought and the problems faced by those who elect to leave (Dale, McGregor 1942). Dale's study of the Pine Ridge Sioux found that many either returned to the reservation or drifted into slum communities on the edge of small towns near the reservation. Another object of study has been the returning student and his problem of adjustment to restricted employment and the limited importance of White middle class values (McGregor and Sterner 1938, Mekeel).

Student attitudes toward education generally appear in the literature as an independent variable or as related to the values and norms of the Indian culture (Dale, Ray 1962). The emphasis has been on education as a goal and motivations for attendance and achievement rather than on factors in the educational setting that have determined attitudes toward this experience.

In most studies the general factor underlying major difficulties in Indian education is identified as the conflict between elements of traditional Indian culture and the middle class expectations and goals of the school systems. Brookover, Erikson, Useem, and Wax, Wax and Dumont provide overviews of this current in Indian education literature.

Major factors in several studies of adjustment of Indian students concern specific areas of value conflict such as the discrepancy between middle class career goals and Indian occupational norms (McGregor 1946, Wax 1963), or Indian students' rejection of middle class behavior norms such as those of individual achievement and competition (Abu-Laban, Cloward and Jones, Helper and Garfield, Wax, Wax and Dumont). The first of these areas has relatively direct bearing on the question of post-high school plans although this is not the focus of any study that we have encountered.

A set of factors found in several studies concerns effective *career guidance and teacher attitudes* toward students. Indian students in several studies were found to be ignorant of possible careers or of the relationship between training and a given career (Hoyt, Wax 1963) or to drop out because they could not see the connection between their education and earning power (Hoyt, Ray *et al*. 1962). Cloward and Jones, and Conant have noted a similar phenomenon among Negro students.

Curriculum as preparation for attaining future goals has been treated in the literature from two opposing points of view. On the one hand, emphasis on vocational training is seen by some as the best way to meet the real needs of the Indian students (Brookover, Dale, McGregor 1942). On the other hand, more general curriculum is considered necessary for broadening the Indian's view of the world and its opportunities (Ray 1959, Wax 1963). Lack of programs and information in the curriculum adapted to the cultural background of the students is a criticism in most of the above studies and a point emphasized by Benham. However, except as a question of assimilation versus traditional culture preservation, these conclusions have little direct bearing on the relationships we explored.

The *social setting* is considered by several authors on Indian education to be a strong factor in inhibiting or facilitating the higher aspirations of students. The role of peer influence seems to depend in part on whether the school is integrated or not. In his study of Pine Ridge reservation all-Indian schools, Erikson notes that the ridicule of peers maintains the dominance of traditional norms. Studying an integrated setting, Abu-Laban notes the importance of peers in determining ethnic identity, but at the same time, finds that this strong ethnic identity is correlated with higher aspirations. Brookover finds that the presence of a majority of white students speeds acculturation of the Indian students, while Jones fears that rapid integration will result in White students' overwhelming the Indians. In his study of sources of working class students' aspirations, Kraus finds peer influence to be a major determinant. Again, while these authors do not relate this interplay of variables to effective assimilation or development of native leadership, this type of relationship was investigated in our study.

An analysis of the impact of education must take into account certain antecedent variables. Ritterband, on "brain drain," and Kraus, on working class aspirations, both found family models and early socialization experiences to be strongly determining factors in the choices made by their students of either a "traditional" or a "new" way of life.

A substantial body of Indian literature focuses on the hypothesis that early socialization experiences (particularly participation in traditional tribal activities and knowledge of the native language) produce strong resistance to later acceptance of alternative values and norms for behavior (Bruner, Eggan, Spindler). This hypothesis provides an explanation for the finding in several studies that many of those

Indian students who excel in school are from homes where the death of one or both parents, divorce, or some other event has disrupted the traditional socialization of the child (Mead, Ray _et al_., 1962, Wax and Wax 1965).

Factors related to _class and level of assimilation_ in the Indian community include percent of Indian blood, source and amount of income, parents' level of education, and distance of home from a main population center. Although a number of studies do relate some of these factors (especially blood and parents' level of education) to adjustment and achievement of students, none associates these variables with the post-graduation aspirations central to this study.

Particularly relevant to this study are the Research Bulletins published by the U.S. Public Health Service in Pine Ridge, which proved a valuable source of information for the Sioux portion of the study. There are a number of centers in the United States that publish a variety of reports concerning Indians including education. Some of these centers are at the University of Minnesota, University of New Mexico, University of California at Davis, the Far West Regional Laboratory in Berkeley, California, and the Association on American Indian Affairs in New York. The Bureau of Indian Affairs will also provide bibliographies on a variety of topics dealing with Indians.

Since the literature bearing on Indian education is large, the research discussed above represents only a portion of that which might have relevance for this study, and we do not presume that this review constitutes a complete coverage of the total volume.

Appendix E
Student Questionnaire

STUDENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I am working for a group of sociologists at Columbia University who are studying problems of Indian education in the West and Alaska. We are interviewing all the juniors and seniors in eight selected high schools. We know that different people get different kinds of schooling and we want to know how the schools can be made as good as possible for each group. We want to know how you feel about school and about other things that are important to you. Some of these things are not directly related to school, but your opinions on them are important so we can understand students' different problems and needs.

I will ask you some questions about school and about your plans for your future. I would like you to answer them as honestly and completely as you can. There are no wrong or right answers to the questions. I just want to know how you feel about these things.

Nobody in (community) or in the schools will ever see your answers. I will not write your name on this questionnaire and will never discuss what you said with anybody else.

SECTION I: HOME

1. I'd like to start by asking you where you have lived most of your life. (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY BUT BE SURE TO COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS)

______________________ Town ______________________ State

Were you born there?

____ Yes
____ No (IF NO) Where were you born?

______________________ Town ______________________ State

Have you lived other places too? IF YES: Where?

______________________ Town ______________________ State

______________________ Town ______________________ State

______________________ Town ______________________ State

When you think of "home" or your home community, what place do you mean?

______________________ Town ______________________ State

Whenever I ask you a question which mentions "home" or your home community, please tell me if you mean somewhere other than ["home"].

FOR ATHABASKANS: Do you think of Fairbanks as a place where you can feel pretty much at home or as a place away from your people and where you have to live differently from the way you are used to?

What about Anchorage?

What about Seattle?

2. Have you always lived with the same parents?

____ Yes (SKIP TO QUESTION 6)

____ No (ASK QUESTION 3)

3. A. Who have you lived with the longest? (RECORD RELATIONSHIP)

Relationship: ______________ Number of years or age ____

Relationship: ______________ Number of years or age ____

B, When did you live with them and for how long? (RECORD ABOVE)

4. A. Who do you live with now, or who have you been living with during the past couple of years? (RECORD RELATIONSHIP)

Relationship: ______________ Number of years or age ____

Relationship: ______________ Number of years or age ____

B. For how long have you lived with them? (RECORD ABOVE)

5. Who do you usually think of as your parents?

Name: ________________________

Name: ________________________

Whenever I ask you a question which mentions "Mother" or "Father" please tell me if you mean anyone other than the people you just named.

6. A. Do you have brothers and sisters?

____ No (SKIP TO SECTION II., QUESTION 1)

____ Yes (ASK B.)

B. How old are they?

Age	Grade in school or number of years completed
______	______
______	______
______	______
______	______
______	______

C. What grades in school are they in? If they are finished with school tell me how far each one went in school. (RECORD ABOVE)

SECTION II: JUNIORS

1. Are you planning to return to school in September?

____ Yes (ASK 2.)

____ No (SKIP TO 8., PAGE 5)

2. A. Do you plan to continue at the same school as last year?

____ Yes (SKIP TO 3.)

____ No (ASK B.)

B. Where will you be going to school? (RECORD NAME OF SCHOOL, LOCATION, AND TYPE OF SCHOOL IF NOT REGULAR HIGH SCHOOL)

C. Why are you transferring?

3. What do you think you will do when you finish high school? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES)

____ More School (PROBE: How much school? What type of school?)

____ Job (PROBE: What kind of job? Where will you work?)

____ Employment Assistance (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

____ Other Vocational Training (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

____ Armed Forces (PROBE: What will you do afterwards?)

____ Other (SPECIFY) ____

____ Don't Know (PROBE: BOYS -- What about the draft? GIRLS -- Do you think you will want to stay near home?)

4. Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most about your plans for what you will do after high school? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP, e.g., mother, best friend, uncle, teacher)

5. A. Did you ever drop out of school for awhile?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 6.)

B. When?

C. What made you change your mind and return to school? (SKIP TO 7.)

6. Did you ever think about dropping out?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why didn't you drop out then?)

____ No

7. Suppose you had decided that you didn't want to finish high school and wanted to get a job or do nothing instead. What do you think your parents would have done or said about this? (SKIP TO 13.)

8. What do you plan to do next year? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES

____ Job (ASK 1.)

1. Do you have a job lined up already?

____ Yes (PROBE: What kind of work; where will you work? SKIP TO 9.)

____ No (ASK 2.)

2. What kind of job do you plan to get? Where will it be?

____ Employment Assistance (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

____ Other Vocational Training (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

____ Armed Forces (PROBE: What will you do afterwards?)

____ Other (SPECIFY) ________________________________

____ Don't Know (PROBE: BOYS -- What about the draft? GIRLS -- Do you think you will want to stay near home?)

9. Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most about your plans for what you will do next year? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP, e.g., mother, best friend, uncle, teacher)

10. A. Do you think you will ever return to school?

____ Yes (PROBE: When?)

____ No (PROBE: Why not?)

B. What made you decide to drop out of school at this point? (PROBE: Any other reasons?)

11. A. Did you ever drop out of school before this?

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 12.)

B. When?

C. What made you change your mind and return to school? (SKIP TO 12.)

12. Did you ever think of dropping out before this?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why didn't you drop out then?)
____ No

(ALL JUNIORS)

13. Would you please tell me who your three best friends are?

____

____

____

14. Could you please tell me something about each of these people? (ASK IN SAME ORDER AS FRIENDS ARE NAMED)

A. FRIEND 1: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN. MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? _____ years

How old is he? _____ years

Is he Indian? _____ Yes _____ No

Has he dropped out of school? _____ Yes _____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF SCHOOL: What do you think he will do when he finishes high school?

What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

14. B. FRIEND 2: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN. MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? _____ years

How old is he? _____ years

Is he Indian? _____ Yes _____ No

Has he dropped out of school? _____ Yes _____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF SCHOOL: What do you think he will do when he finishes high school?

What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

14. C. FRIEND 3: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN. MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? _____ years

How old is he? _____ years

Is he Indian? _____ Yes _____ No

Has he dropped out of school? _____ Yes _____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF SCHOOL: What do you think he will do when he finishes high school?

What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

SECTION II: SENIORS

1. What do you plan to do next year? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES)

___ School (ASK A.)

A. Where are you going?

B. How long do you plan to go? (RECORD NUMBER OF YEARS)

_____ years

C. Do you have a scholarship?

___ Yes (PROBE: What kind?) ________________________

___ No

___ Job (ASK A.)

A. Do you have a job lined up already?

_____ Yes (PROBE: What kind of work? Where will you work?) (SKIP TO 2. BELOW)

_____ No (ASK B.)

B. What kind of job do you plan to get and where do you want to work?

___ Employment Assistance (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

___ Other Vocational Training (PROBE: Where? For what kind of job?)

___ Armed Forces (PROBE: What will you do afterwards?)

___ Other (SPECIFY) ____

___ Don't Know (PROBE: BOYS -- What about the draft? GIRLS -- Do you think you will want to stay near home?)

2. Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most about your plans for next year? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP, e.g., mother, best friend, uncle, teacher)

3. A. Did you ever drop out of school for awhile?

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 4.)

B. When?

C. What made you change your mind and return to school? (SKIP TO 5.)

4. Did you ever think about dropping out?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why didn't you drop out then?)
____ No

5. Suppose you had decided not to finish high school but to get a job or do nothing instead, what do you think your parents would have done or said about this?

6. If you were to repeat your years in high school, what would you do differently? For instance, would you take different courses, join different activities, or work harder? (PROBE: Why would you do these things differently?)

7. Will you please tell me who your three best friends are?

____
____
____

8. Could you please tell me something about these people? (ASK IN SAME ORDER AS FRIENDS ARE NAMED)

A. FRIEND 1: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN BUT MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? _____ years

How old is he? _____ years

Is he Indian? _____ Yes _____ No

Did he drop out of school before finishing twelfth grade?
_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF MORE SCHOOL: What school? What do you think he wants to do when he finishes school? What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

8. B. FRIEND 2: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN BUT MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? ____ years

How old is he? ____ years

Is he Indian? ____ Yes ____ No

Did he drop out of school before finishing twelfth grade?

____ Yes ____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF MORE SCHOOL: What school? What do you think he wants to do when he finishes school? What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

8. C. FRIEND 3: (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO TALK FREELY AND WRITE EVERYTHING DOWN BUT MAKE SURE YOU COVER THE FOLLOWING AREAS:)

How long have you known this person? _____ years

How old is he? _____ years

Is he Indian? _____ Yes _____ No

Did he drop out of school before finishing twelfth grade?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES: How did you feel when it happened?

What is he doing next year?

IF MORE SCHOOL: What school? What do you think he wants to do when he finishes school? What do you think he wants to do in life?

IF NOT SCHOOL: Do you think he will keep on doing that or is it just a temporary job? What do you think he wants to do in life?

SECTION III: ALL STUDENTS

1. In what ways would you say the decisions of your friends have influenced your plans for next year or for your future?

2. What language do you usually speak at home?

   ____ English (ASK 3.)

   ____ Indian language (SKIP TO 4.)

3. A. Do your parents speak [Indian language]? (CHECK IF YES. IF MORE THAN ONE SET OF PARENTS, ASK IF ANY SPEAK INDIAN LANGUAGE AND SPECIFY WHO)

   ____ Mother

   ____ Father

   B. Do you know or ever speak [Indian language[?

   ____ Yes (SKIP TO 5.)

   ____ No (SKIP TO 8.)

4. A. When did you first learn to speak English? (RECORD AGE OR GRADE IN SCHOOL)

   ____ years or ____ grade

   B. Does either of your parents speak English? (CHECK IF YES. IF MORE THAN ONE SET OF PARENTS, ASK IF ANY SPEAK INDIAN LANGUAGE AND SPECIFY WHO)

   ____ Mother

   ____ Father

5. Did you have trouble understanding school assignments in English last year?

   ____ Yes

   ____ No

6. Would you have understood better if [Indian language] had been used?

   ____ Yes

   ____ No

7. Would you teach your children [Indian language]?

   ____ Yes

   ____ No

8. If you had to choose one thing about school that you liked the most, what would it be? (PROBE: Why do you pick this? Anything else?)

9. If you had to choose one thing about school that you disliked the most, what would it be? (PROBE: Why do you pick this? Anything else?)

10. Generally, how much did you like school last year:

____ Very much
____ Somewhat, or
____ Not at all?
} (READ THESE)

____ Don't know

11. A. What was your favorite subject in school this year?

B. Why did you like it best?

12. A. What subject did you like least?

B. Why?

13. As far as giving a good education is concerned, compared with other schools in the United States, do you think your school is:

____ Better than most,
____ About the same, or
____ Not as good as most?

(READ THESE)

____ [Voluntary] Better in some ways, worse in others
____ Don't know

14. A. How important would you say getting good marks in school is to you:

____ Very important,
____ Somewhat important, or
____ Not important at all?

B. Why [is] [isn't] getting good marks important to you?

C. What do you consider a good mark?

15. A. Can you think of an example of something that made you like some teachers more than others last year?

B. Can you think of some things that made you dislike some teachers?

16. A. How often did you talk alone with your teachers this year?

B. Was this as often as you wanted to? (PROBE: Why? or Why not?)

C. What did you usually talk about during these talks? (CHECK ALL THAT ARE MENTIONED)

____ General academic performance
____ Vocational plans
____ College plans

____ Personal problems
____ Classroom material
____ Papers and exams

____ Disciplinary problems
____ Other (SPECIFY) ____________________

17. A. Which teacher would you say you learned the most from last year? (RECORD NAME AND SUBJECT MATTER)

B. Why do you think you learned more from this teacher than from any of the others?

18. A. Were there any teachers who were especially nice or helpful to you last year?

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 19.)

	B. Which teachers?	C. In what ways?
1)		
2)		
3)		

B. Which teachers (RECORD ABOVE TEACHER'S NAME AND THE SUBJECT MATTER)

C. In what ways has he (she) been especially nice or helpful? (RECORD ABOVE)

19. Have you ever had any teachers who were Indian?

____ Yes (PROBE: In what grade?)

____ No

20. Would you rather be taught by teachers who are Indian?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why?)

____ No (PROBE: Why not?)

____ Doesn't matter

21. A. Have you ever studied about Indian life or Indian customs in your high school classes?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 22.)

B. What kinds of things did you study? (CHECK ALL THAT ARE MENTIONED)

____ Art
____ Ceremonies and rituals
____ Family life

____ History before contact with whites
____ Modern Indian history
____ Music and dance

____ Language
____ Religion and legends
____ Other (SPECIFY) ____________________

C. In which courses did you study these things? (RECORD NAME OF TEACHER AND SUBJECT MATTER)

D. Did you enjoy learning about these things?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why?)

____ No (PROBE: Why not?)

22. Do you think that Indian students should be taught more about their own people in high school?

___ Yes (PROBE: Why?)

___ No (PROBE: Why not?)

23. A. What things about [school] would you like to see changed? For instance, would you like the school to give different courses, or to offer different extra-curricular activities?

A. Changes	B. Reasons

B. Why would you want this changed? (ASK AFTER EACH CHANGE AND RECORD ABOVE)

24. When you do something you are proud of, whose approval is most important to you? (IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT UNDERSTOOD, ASK: Who do you most want to know about it?) (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP)

25. When you do something you are not proud of, whose disapproval do you find hardest to take? (IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT UNDERSTOOD, ASK: Who do you most want not to know about it?) (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP)

26. A. Does anyone at home ever discuss school or your homework with you? (BE SURE YOU KNOW WHICH HOME)

___ Yes (ASK B.)

___ No (SKIP TO 27.)

B. Who? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP AND SUBJECT MATTER DISCUSSED)

27. Of all the people you know, who has influenced you the most to go this far in school? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP)

28. A. Suppose you came home and told your mother that a teacher had punished you for something you didn't do. What do you think your mother would do? (BE SURE YOU KNOW WHICH HOME AND MOTHER)

B. Has this ever happened -- that a teacher punished you for something you didn't do?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened? Would you have liked her to do something else? Why? What would other mothers do?)

29. How satisfied are you with the way you are doing in school?

____ Very satisfied,

____ Somewhat satisfied, or

____ Not at all satisfied?

____ Don't know

30. Everybody does some things better than others. As far as school is concerned, what do you think you do best?

31. How interesting did you find your school assignments last year?

32. A. Did you board at high school?

____ Yes (ASK 33.)

____ No (ASK B.)

B. Did you live with your parents?

____ Yes (SKIP TO 34.)

____ No (ASK C.)

C. ____ Who did you live with? (SKIP TO 34.)

33. A. If you had lived at home, do you think you would have liked school:

____ More, or

____ Less?

____ Don't Know (SKIP TO C.)

B. Why do you think you would have liked school (more) (less)?

C. How often did you see your parents when you were at school?

D. Did the school allow you to see your parents as often as you wanted to?

____ Yes

____ No

34. A. If you were the principal of [school] would you decide to continue boarding schools or would you stop them?

____ Continue

____ Stop

____ Don't know

B. Why would you decide to do this?

35. A. Which extra-curricular activities did you take part in? (CHECK ALL THAT ARE MENTIONED)

	A. Took part in	B. Officer
Subject related clubs (e.g., science club)	____	____
Special interest clubs (e.g., stamp club)	____	____
Intramural athletics	____	____
Interscholastic athletics	____	____
Publications	____	____
Musical activities	____	____
Drama	____	____
Student council	____	____
Assembly programs	____	____
Pep club	____	____
Religious club	____	____

Other (SPECIFY)

____

B. Were you an officer in any of these activities? (RECORD ABOVE)

36. Last year, what did you do after school most afternoons?

37. How about in the evenings, what did you usually do then?

38. A. Students have lots of questions or problems which are important for deciding about their future lives. I will hand you some cards with made-up situations and will read them aloud at the same time. I would like you to tell me what you think the best thing to do would be in each case. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD ONE AT A TIME AND ALSO READ IT ALOUD)

# 1. A fullblood Indian girl is about to graduate from high school and wants to move to a city and find a job. Her parents want to keep her at home where she can be near them and where she can carry on the more traditional way of life.

a) What do you think the girl should do? (PROBE: Why?)

b) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

# 2. A boy who does well in school and who is a good leader does not know if he should stay in his village to become the head of a Community Action Project or if he should accept a job with a manufacturing company far away from home that will pay him a lot.

a) What do you think he should do? (PROBE: Why?)

b) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

38. A. # 3. A girl has been offered the opportunity to be trained as a nurse through Employment Assistance if she will later accept a job in the hospital where she is trained, which is far from her home. She wants to be a nurse but would like to do this work near her own people.

a) What do you think the girl should do. (PROBE: Why?)

b) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

B. Next are three problems that might come up in school. In each case I would like to know what you think the person should do.

4. An Indian boy wants to complete high school but he is already one grade behind and he has said that if he has to stay behind again he will have to drop out of school. He has just failed an important test that will decide whether or not he is to be promoted this year.

a) Do you think there is anything the teacher can do to help the student? (PROBE: What?)

b) What do you think the boy should do?

c) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

38. B. # 5. A half-blood Indian girl who is a good student is making enemies among her Indian classmates by saying bad things about Indian customs and characteristics. A teacher is planning to talk to the girl about this.

a) Do you think the teacher should get involved? What should she do or say?

b) If you were a friend of the girl's, what would you do? (PROBE: Why?)

c) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

# 6. An Indian boy has said that he doesn't want to go to college even though he has been a very good student and gets A's in science. He has said he wants to find a job as a [rancher, construction] near his home.

a) What do you think he should do? Do you think you would have decided the same way? (PROBE: Why?)

b) Have you ever heard of any cases like this?

____ No

____ Yes (PROBE: What happened?)

Z. I have a list of some jobs. I'd like you to tell me the kind of education a person needs to have for each one: what kind of training or school and how many years.

Boys only:

1) an automobile mechanic

2) a carpenter

3) a doctor

4) an airline pilot

5) an electronics technician

6) a heavy equipment operator

Girls only:

1) a nurse

2) a beautician

3) a secretary

4) a grade school teacher

5) a dental assistant

6) a librarian

We are interested in knowing what kinds of information students in [community] receive about things which are important for their future, such as the kinds of jobs they could get and the training they would need for such jobs. I am going to ask you whether anyone at home or at school has ever talked with you about any of these things. In each case I would like to know who the person is and what information they gave you.

39. A. Has anyone at home or at school ever talked with you about jobs or job training after high school?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 40.)

B. Who? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP OR POSITION)

C. What kinds of information did they give you and what kinds of things did they say?

40. A. Has anyone at home or at school ever talked with you about Employment Assistance?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 41.)

B. Who? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP OR POSITION)

C. What kinds of information did they give you and what did they say?

41. A. Has anyone at home or at school talked to you about the Armed Forces?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 42.)

B. Who? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP OR POSITION)

C. What kinds of information did they give you and what kinds of things did they say?

42. A. Has anyone at home or at school ever talked with you about going to college?

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 43.)

B. Who? (RECORD NAME AND RELATIONSHIP OR POSITION)

C. What information did they give you and that kinds of things did they say?

43. How do you think that [school] could do more to help prepare its students for a life in [community]?

44. For those students who are planning to leave [community], how do you think the schools could do more to help them prepare for life in a city or for a job?

45. How do you think the school could have done more for you personally?

46. Do you think your education will help you get a job? I mean, do you think your schooling will make a difference, that you can get a better job than you could have otherwise?

47. A. About how much schooling do you think most young Indian men need these days to get along well living in [community]? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES. IF COLLEGE IS MENTIONED, ASK HOW MANY YEARS)

	A. Inside	B. Outside
Some grade school	______	______
Finish grade school	______	______
Some high school	______	______
Finish high school	______	______
College	______ years	______ years
Other (business school, etc.) Describe ______ ______	______	______
Doesn't matter	______	______
Don't know	______	______

B. What about outside of their home communities, in cities? (RECORD ABOVE)

(GIRLS ONLY, BOYS SKIP TO 49)

48. What is the least amount of education you'd be satisfied for your husband to have? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES. IF COLLEGE IS MENTIONED, ASK HOW MANY YEARS)

____ Some grade school
____ Finish grade school
____ Some high school
____ Finish high school
____ College _____ years

____ Don't care
____ Don't know

49. A. Do you take part in any customary tribal activities? (For instance, do you dance during the Sundance or pow wows?)

____ Yes (SKIP TO C.)
____ No (ASK B.)

B. Why don't you take part in these activities? (SKIP TO 50.)

C. Which activities do you take part in?

D. How important are these activities to you? Would you say they are:

____ Very important,
____ Somewhat important, or
____ Not important at all?

____ Don't know

50. A. Do your parents take part in any of these traditional activities?

___ Yes (SKIP TO C.)
___ No (ASK B.)

B. Do you know why your parents don't take part in these activities? (SKIP TO 51.)

C. Which activities do they participate in?

D. How important are these activities to your parents? Would you say they are:

___ Very important,
___ Somewhat important, or
___ Not important at all?

___ Don't know

51. Would you encourage your children to take part in these activities?

___ Yes
___ No (ASK WHY NOT)

___ Don't know

52. Where do you plan to live most of your life?

___ In or near home community (ASK 53.)
___ Elsewhere (SPECIFY) ________________________ (SKIP TO 54.)

53. A. Why do you want to stay here?

B. Do you think you would get a different job if you left? (IF YES, PROBE: What do you think it would be?) (SKIP TO 55.)

54. A. Why do you plan to leave?

B. What kind of changes in [community] do you think would be needed before you would want to stay? (IF RESPONDENT HAS SAID HE WANTS TO LIVE IN A LARGE CITY, SKIP TO 56.; IF NOT, ASK 55.)

55. Would you ever want to live in a large American city?

____ Yes (PROBE: Why would you want to?)

____ No (PROBE: Why wouldn't you want to?)

56. A. What is the farthest distance from [community] you have ever travelled? (RECORD NAME OF TOWN OR CITY AND STATE)

______________________ Town

______________________ State

B. How long did you stay there?

C. Why did you go there?

57. I will hand you a card on which you will find a list of characteristics of some jobs or careers. I would like to know which qualities appeal to you, that is, which items describe a job you would like to hold. For each item, specify whether it would be very important, somewhat important, or not important at all, if you were considering taking a job. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD # 7 AND READ ITEMS ALOUD ONE BY ONE. REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS OFTEN AS NECESSARY.)

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not at all important	Don't know
Gives you an opportunity to work with people rather than with things	___	___	___	___
Gives you high standing and importance	___	___	___	___
Lets you look forward to a stable and secure future	___	___	___	___
Gives you a chance to be creative and original	___	___	___	___
Gives you a chance to be a leader	___	___	___	___
Gives you an opportunity to be helpful to others	___	___	___	___
Leaves you relatively free of supervision by others	___	___	___	___
Gives you a chance for adventure	___	___	___	___
Provides you with a chance to earn a good deal of money	___	___	___	___
Lets you stay near home	___	___	___	___
Allows you to take time off or come in late without fear of losing your job	___	___	___	___
Allows you to work alone without having to be around a lot of people	___	___	___	___
Lets you know what your job is all the time so you don't have to figure out what to do	___	___	___	___

58. A. Thinking ahead, what would you most like to be doing ten years from now? (PROBE: kind of work)

B. Why do you choose this particular work?

59. A. Of all the people you have ever known, whom do you most admire? (IF NOT CLEAR, ASK WHAT THIS PERSON DOES)

(IF MEMBER OF FAMILY NAMED, ASK B., OTHERWISE SKIP TO C.)

B. How about someone outside of your family whom you admire?

C. Why do you choose this person?

60. A. How about people you have read or heard about -- whom do you most admire? (IF NOT CLEAR, ASK WHAT THIS PERSON DOES)

B. Why do you choose this person?

61. A. Suppose you could be anyone in [community], that is, suppose you could trade places with someone, whom would you choose? (IF NOT CLEAR, ASK WHAT THIS PERSON DOES)

B. Why do you choose this person?

62. A. Compared with most other Indians do you think you are (READ CHOICES):

	A. Indians	B. Other Americans
Less well off,	____	____
As well off, or	____	____
Better off?	____	____
Don't know	____	____

B. How about compared with most other Americans? Do you think you are less well-off, as well-off or better off? (RECORD ABOVE)

63. A. How about your chances of reaching your goals in life, compared with most other Indians. Do you think your chances are (READ CHOICES):

	A. Indians	B. Other Americans
Worse	____	____
The same, or	____	____
Better?	____	____
Don't know	____	____

B. How about compared with most other Americans? Do you think your chances are worse, the same or better? (RECORD ABOVE)

64. A. If you won [contest or lottery], what would you do with the money?

B. Why would you spend it this way?

(FOR GIRLS ONLY; BOYS SKIP TO 66.)

65. A. If you could be any of these things, which would be your first choice? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD # 8)

	A. 1st choice	B. 2nd choice	C. Don't want
Actress	___	___	___
Artist	___	___	___
Nurse	___	___	___
Waitress	___	___	___
Model	___	___	___
Teacher	___	___	___
Secretary	___	___	___
Airline Stewardess	___	___	___
Full-time housewife	___	___	___
Scientist	___	___	___
Saleslady in store	___	___	___
Social worker	___	___	___
Beautician	___	___	___
Women's magazine editor	___	___	___
Don't know	___	___	___

B. Which would be your second choice? (RECORD ABOVE)

C. What would you least want to be? (RECORD ABOVE)

(FOR BOYS ONLY, GIRLS SKIP TO 67.)

66. A. If you could be any of these things, which would be your first choice? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD # 9)

	A. 1st choice	B. 2nd choice	C. Don't want
Policeman	___	___	___
Lawyer	___	___	___
Airplane pilot	___	___	___
Doctor	___	___	___
Bus driver	___	___	___
Professional athlete	___	___	___
Insurance salesman	___	___	___
Electrician	___	___	___
College professor	___	___	___
Missionary	___	___	___
Garage mechanic	___	___	___
Factory worker	___	___	___
Businessman	___	___	___
Scientist	___	___	___
Don't know	___	___	___

B. Which would be your second choice? (RECORD ABOVE)

C. What would you least want to be? (RECORD ABOVE)

67. One of the things we are interested in is the kind of people who have influence or do things that are helpful to many people in your village. These are the people who make choices and decisions. One word for such people is leaders.

A. Who are some people you would consider leaders in your community?

B. What do these people do that makes you consider them leaders?

68. A. Another thing I would like to know about is the kind of qualities and experience you think someone who might become a leader in your community should have. Below are some particular kinds of characteristics and experiences. Which of them do you think a person should have to become a leader in your community? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD # 10)

	A. Required	B. Most Important
Knows [native language]	___	___
Has high school education	___	___
Has college education	___	___
Has experience outside of [native community]	___	___
Knows Indian problems	___	___
Has lived long in one community	___	___
Is popular among classmates	___	___
Has been a leader in school activities	___	___
Speaks and writes English well	___	___
Knows a lot about White society	___	___

B. Looking over the list again, which do you think is most important for a leader in your community to have? (RECORD ABOVE)

69. A. Do you hope someday to become a leader in your community?

___ Yes (ASK B.)
___ No (SKIP TO 70.)

B. What has most influenced you to have this goal?

C. How have your school experiences influenced you in this goal?

70. Who are three students in your grade at school you think would be good leaders in the community?

___

___

___

71. President Johnson made a speech to Congress on March 6, 1968, in which he said (HAND RESPONDENT CARD # 11 AND READ ALOUD):

> The greatest hope for Indian progress lies in the emergence of Indian leadership and initiative in solving Indian problems. Indians must have a voice in programs which are important to their daily life.
>
> I propose, in short, a policy of maximum choice for the American Indian: a policy expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, self-determination.

A. What do you think the President meant when he used the words "self-help, self-development, self-determination"?

B. Do you think that this is a good idea for your tribe? (FOLLOW INTERPRETATION GIVEN BY RESPONDENT, AND PROBE: Why do you think this is a good policy or why don't you think this is a good policy?)

(IF ANSWER WAS YES, ASK C.; OTHERWISE SKIP TO D.)

C. Would you like to take part in this kind of program? (PROBE: In what way, what would you like to do?)

D. How do you think your tribe will be living 25 years from now? Do you think things will be any different or that most of the tribe will still live here? (PROBE: Why?)

71. E. Do you think your life will be different from your parents' lives?

____ Yes (ASK F.)

____ No (SKIP TO 72.)

F. How do you think it will be different? (PROBE: Why? What do you think has made the difference?)

72. A. Have you ever heard of the Poor People's March on Washington?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO SECTION IV., QUESTION 1.)

B. What did you think about it? (PROBE: Did you think it was a good idea? What were the goals of the march? Did you know anyone who went to Washington? Did you know that there were Indians there as well as Negroes?)

SECTION IV: ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND DATA

1. A. Have you ever worked during the school year?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 2.)

B. What kind of work did you do? (RECORD TYPE OF WORK AND LOCATION FOR ALL JOBS)

C. How many hours a week did you work?

______ hours per week

2. A. Did you work last summer?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 3.)

B. What kind of work did you do? (RECORD TYPE OF WORK AND LOCATION)

3. A. Do you have a job now?

____ Yes (ASK B.)

____ No (SKIP TO 4.)

B. What kind of work are you doing? (RECORD TYPE OF WORK, LOCATION, AND EMPLOYER)

(ASK 4. ONLY IF SOME JOB HAS BEEN MENTIONED: OTHERWISE, SKIP TO 5)

4. A. Would you say that any of your jobs have influenced your plans for the future?

____ Yes (ASK B)

____ No (SKIP TO 5.)

B. In what ways, for instance, have they made you change your mind about the type of work you would like to do later?

5. A. Is your father working now? (AGAIN, BE SURE WHICH FATHER)

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 6.)

B. What type of work does your father do?

6. A. How about your mother, does she have a job? (AGAIN, BE SURE WHICH MOTHER)

____ Yes (ASK B.)
____ No (SKIP TO 7.)

B. What kind of work does she do?

7. A. How far in school did your mother go? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES, IF COLLEGE IS MENTIONED, ASK HOW MANY YEARS)

	A. Mother	B. Father
Some grade school	____	____
Finish grade school	____	____
Some high school	____	____
Some college	____ years	____ years
Finish college	____	____
Graduate school	____	____
Other (business school, etc.) DESCRIBE ____________________ ____________________	____	____
Don't know	____	____

B. How about your father, how far in school did he go? (RECORD ABOVE)

SECTION V: INTERVIEWERS' EVALUATION

1. Your name: ____

2. Did you use [Indian language] at any point during the interview? (PLEASE EXPLAIN WITH SPECIFIC EXAMPLES)

3. How well did the respondent understand the questions asked:

____ Poorly: Had to repeat and rephrase questions many times and respondent still seemed unsure of the meaning.

____ Fairly well: Had to repeat and rephrase some questions but respondent usually understood after one or two tries.

____ Very well: Little or no repetition was necessary. Respondent seemed to understand most questions asked.

4. How cooperative was the respondent:

____ Poor cooperation: Respondent was difficult. Rarely gave full answers and had to be prompted constantly.

____ Fair cooperation: Respondent gave short answers and tried to give as little as possible but did respond to prompting.

____ Good cooperation: Respondent answered questions fully and readily. Did not have to be prompted very often.

5. If unable to answer questions 3. and 4. because couldn't tell why respondent was difficult, please check one of the following two alternatives:

____ Poor interview: Respondent was difficult and had to have questions repeated and rephrased many times. However, it was impossible to tell whether this difficulty resulted from the respondent's inability to understand the questions or from a hesitancy about answering them.

____ Fair interview: Respondent was not too difficult and generally things were all right. It was difficult to know whether problems that arose were a result of a lack or comprehension or a hesitancy about answering the questions.

6. Please take ten minutes or so to write your general impressions of the respondent and the interview as a whole. We would like to know specifically how honestly you felt the person was answering the questions, whether he seemed to enjoy the interview, whether you were able to maintain a good level of rapport, etc.

Appendix F

TEACHER SURVEY

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

This questionnaire is being given to teachers in high schools serving Indians in Alaska and South Dakota. It is part of a study seeking to relate the attitudes and aspirations of Indian high school juniors and seniors to their educational experiences. The research, for which a proposal has been submitted to the U.S. Office of Education, will be carried out by three sociologists at Columbia University.

We ask your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire as frankly, honestly and completely as you can. Your personal opinions are important to help us arrive at reliable conclusions about the opinions and attitudes of the staff of the schools.

The information obtained from this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. You need not sign your name. The questionnaire will not be made available to the school district. Its contents will never be associated with you as an individual. Your responses will be combined with the responses of others and tabulated with them for the research report.

A few questions are asked about your personal background. While it is important for research purposes that the information be as complete and as valid as possible, should you object to any item do not let that deter you from completing and returning the remainder of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire has been designed to take as little of your time as possible. Most questions can be answered with a check mark. However, we urge you to write in any qualifications or comments you want to make in order fully to represent your views.

When you have completed the questionnaire, enclose and seal it in the pre-addressed envelope provided and mail it directly to our office. You will also find a pre-addressed post card. Please sign your name on the back and return it to us separately. This will enable us to know which teachers have returned questionnaires without identifying any given questionnaire with any individual. This will save you the inconvenience of receiving a follow-up letter.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Elisabeth Gemberling
Project Director

Margaret Nelson
Project Director

TEACHER SURVEY

1. **Name of school in which you teach: ______________________________**

2. **Which of the following subjects do you mainly teach? Check as many as apply.**

   - **Art ( )**
   - **Business Education ( )**
   - **English ( )**
   - **Foreign Languages ( )**
   - **History ( )**
   - **Home Economics ( )**
   - **Mathematics ( )**
   - **Music ( )**
   - **Physical Education ( )**
   - **Psychology ( )**
   - **Science ( )**
   - **Social Studies ( )**
   - **Vocational, Technical Education ( )**
   - **Other: ______________ ( )**

3. **Please give the number of Indian and white students, and the grade level, of each class you teach. (Do not write the name of the course.)**

Number of Indian Students	**Number of White Students**	**Grade Level**
________	________	________
________	________	________
________		________
________	________	________
________		________

4. **Do you supplement the regular curricular offering in your classes in any of the following ways? Check all that apply.**

   - **Ordering paperback books to be purchased by students ( )**
   - **Movies in classroom ( )**
   - **Newspapers ( )**
   - **Scholastic magazines ( )**

   - **Other magazines ( )**
   - **Records or tape recordings ( )**
   - **Field trips ( )**
   - **Other (Please specify): ______________________ ( )**

5. Does your curriculum include subject matter relating to Indian life and customs?

Yes_____
No_____

If Yes, please answer a) and b).

a) What aspects of Indian life are studied? Check all that apply.

Art ( )
Ceremonies and Rituals ( )
Family life ( )
History before contact with whites ( )
Modern Indian history ( )
Music and dances ( )
Language ( )
Religion and legends ( )

b) What kinds of material do you use for this study? Check all that apply.

Bureau of Indian Affairs publications ( )
Museum publications ( )
Movies ( )
Records and tape recordings ( )
Your own materials ( )
Other (Please specify):________________ ( )

6. All things considered, how satisfied are you with the quality of schoolwork that your Indian students are doing? Please explain your answer as fully as possible.

7. During a typical week, approximately how many hours do you spend on each of the following? Write the number of hours in Column A.

	A Activity in Hours	B Like More Time	C Like Less Time
classroom teaching	( )	( )	( )
preparing for classes	( )	( )	( )
correcting papers	( )	( )	( )
talking with parents	( )	( )	( )
clerical tasks (school records, etc.)	( )	( )	( )
extra-curricular activities	( )	( )	( )
control of student behavior outside class (lunch, corridor, study hall, etc.)	( )	( )	( )
faculty meetings	( )	( )	( )
community service work	( )	( )	( )
counseling students outside of class	( )	( )	( )
reading professional books and journals	( )	( )	( )
inservice training (courses, conferences, etc.)	( )	( )	( )
participating in teachers' associations, unions, etc.	( )	( )	( )
Other (Please specify):__________	( )	( )	( )

b) Now, which of these things would you like to spend less time doing? Indicate with checks in Column B.

c) Which would you like to spend more time doing? Indicate with checks in Column C.

8. Please suggest any changes that might make your job more rewarding to you.

9. Please check any extra-curricular activities that you supervise:

Subject related clubs (e.g., science club) ( )
Special interest clubs (e.g., stamp club) ( )
Intramural athletics ( )
Inter-scholastic athletics ( )

Publications ( )
Musical activities ( )
Drama ( )
Student Council ( )

Assembly programs ( )
Pep Club ( )
Religious Club ( )
Other (Please specify): ____________ ( )

10. Would you say that you initiate most conferences with students or that most of the students come to you?

Teacher initiates conference ( )
Students initiate conference ( )
Initiative about equally divided between students and teacher ( )

11. What subjects are discussed during these conferences? In Column A check all that apply.

	A **Subjects Discussed**	**B** **Most Frequently Discussed**
Student's general academic performance	( )	( )
Student's vocational plans	( )	( )
Student's college plans	( )	( )
Student's personal problems	( )	( )
Specific classroom material	( )	( )
Student's papers and exams	( )	( )
Student's disciplinary problems	( )	( )
Other (Please specify): ____________	( )	( )

Now, in Column B, check the subject most frequently discussed.

12. During the past school year, have you personally provided any students with information concerning educational and occupational opportunities?

Yes ______
No ______

If No, who has this responsibility in your school? ______________

If Yes, which of the following types of materials and general information have you provided? Check all that apply.

Employment opportunities near student's home ( )
Employment opportunities elsewhere ( )
Vocational training or employment through Employment Assistance Programs ( )
Other vocational training programs ( )

Training requirements for specific vocations ( )
Financial assistance for vocational training ( )
Financial assistance for college ( )
Colleges suited to student's needs and interests ( )

Requirements for college entrance ( )
Summer programs for college preparation ( )
Other (Please specify): ______________________ ( )

13. What kinds of students do you think ought not to apply for college? Please explain your answer as fully as possible.

14. Students frequently have non-academic questions and problems which teachers may be asked, or feel called upon, to deal with. Below you will find a number of hypothetical situations. Please describe as fully as possible how you would act in each of these cases.

a) A fullblood Indian girl is about to graduate from high school and wants to move to a city and find a job. Her parents want to keep her at home to carry on the more traditional Indian way of life. She has come in to talk with you.

b) A boy with above average ability and leadership skills is undecided about whether to return to (or remain in) his village to become the head of a community development project, or to accept the offer of a well-paid job in a manufacturing firm away from home. He would like you to offer your suggestions on the best alternative.

c) A girl has been offered the opportunity to be trained as a nurse through Employment Assistance if she will later accept employment where she is trained, which is far from her home. She wants to be a nurse but would like to apply this skill among her own people. She has come to you for your opinion on this matter.

d) An Indian boy has shown a desire to complete high school. However, he is already one grade behind and has said that if he has to remain behind again his parents will make him drop out of school and help support the family. He has just failed an important test in your class which will determine whether or not he is to be promoted this year. What would you do in such a case?

e) A bright, high-achieving half-blood Indian girl is making enemies among her Indian classmates by her deprecating remarks about Indian characteristics and customs. Would you speak to the girl? What would you say?

f) An Indian boy in your class has stated that he does not want to go to college but wants to find a job as a laborer near his home. He has shown outstanding science ability and you feel that he could do well in college. What would you advise in such a case?

15. In general, how well do IQ test scores correspond with your assessment of the academic potential of your students?

Extremely well ( )
Very well ( )
Quite well ( )
Not very well ( )
Not well at all ( )

16. Which do you think has had more to do with determining IQ test scores of your Indian students - social environment or hereditary factors?

Social environment ( )
Hereditary factors ( )
About equal influence ( )

17. Students vary in many ways. Listed below are a number of characteristics descriptive of students.

a) For each characteristic, we would like to know whether it describes most of your Indian students, some of them, or few or none of them. Place a check in the appropriate column (A, B, or C) after each characteristic.

b) Place a check in column D next to those characteristics which describe the kind of student you prefer to teach, that is, those characteristics which in combination describe the student with whom you find it most rewarding to work. Check as many as you wis

	A Most	B Some	C Few or None	D Preferred
Ability				
above average aptitude	( )	( )	( )	( )
creative	( )	( )	( )	( )
high potential but low achievement	( )	( )	( )	( )
below average potential but highly motivated	( )		( )	( )
learns with difficulty	( )	( )	( )	( )
solves problems quickly	( )	( )	( )	( )
below average aptitude	( )	( )	( )	( )
School Behavior and Attitudes				
likes school	( )	( )	( )	( )
thinks independently of peers	( )	( )	( )	( )
is inattentive in class	( )	( )	( )	( )
does not complete assignments	( )	( )	( )	( )
is well-behaved in class	( )	( )	( )	( )
is rebellious	( )	( )	( )	( )
is eager to please the teacher	( )	( )	( )	( )
is competitive with other students	( )	( )	( )	( )
is unresponsive in class	( )	( )	( )	( )
is disruptive in class	( )	( )	( )	( )
seeks advice or help readily	( )	( )	( )	( )
completes assignments	( )	( )	( )	( )
doesn't like school	( )	( )	( )	( )
is responsive in class	( )	( )	( )	( )
Social Relations				
friendly and well-liked	( )	( )	( )	( )
has few friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
Personality				
moody	( )	( )	( )	( )
needs encouragement	( )	( )	( )	( )
lethargic	( )	( )	( )	( )
good sense of humor	( )	( )	( )	( )
withdrawn	( )	( )	( )	( )
energetic	( )	( )	( )	( )

18. Which of the following discipline problems do you face in dealing with your students? In Column A mark the frequency with which these problems occur, using the code below:

(0) never
(1) almost never
(2) once a month
(3) once a week
(4) once a day or more frequently

	A Frequency	B Boarding Students	C Day Students	D Would not occur in white school
Drinking	( )	( )	( )	( )
Stealing	( )	( )	( )	( )
Truancy	( )	( )	( )	( )
Running away	( )	( )	( )	( )
Defacing school property	( )	( )	( )	( )
Cheating	( )	( )	( )	( )
Teasing other students	( )	( )	( )	( )
Fighting among students	( )	( )	( )	( )
Failure to finish assignments	( )	( )		( )
Disruptions when teacher is talking	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other (Please specify): ____________	( )	( )	( )	( )

b) Now, in Column B place a check if this problem occurs more frequently among boarding students. (Do not answer this question if there are no boarding students in your school.)

c) In Column C place a check if this problem occurs more frequently among day students. (Do not answer this question if there are no boarding students in your school.)

d) In Column D check any of these problems which you believe would not occur as often in a predominately white school.

19. About how much schooling do you think most young Indians need these days to get along reasonably well in their home communities? Check in Column A. How about outside of their communities, in white society? Check in Column B

	A Home	B Outside
Need some grade school	☐	☐
Need to finish grade school	☐	☐
Need some high school	☐	☐
Need to finish high school	☐	☐
Need some college or training beyond high school	☐	☐
Need to finish college	☐	☐
Need some schooling beyond college	☐	☐

20. Place a check in Column A to indicate each of the factors that you feel contributes to the high drop-out rate among Indian students.

	A Contributes	B Most Important
Poor health	☐	☐
Inadequate command of the English language	☐	☐
Family's need for additional income	☐	☐
General lack of interest in school	☐	☐
Lack of adequate clothing	☐	☐
Desire for new experiences	☐	☐
Poor academic performance	☐	☐
Conflicts with school authorities	☐	☐
Dissatisfaction with curriculum	☐	☐
Belief that schooling will not help them occupationally	☐	☐
Social adjustment problems	☐	☐
Laziness	☐	☐
Parents' desire to have children at home	☐	☐
Parents do not consider education necessary	☐	☐
Homesickness	☐	☐
Other (Please specify):____________________	☐	☐

In Column B above, write a "1" in the box for the factor which you feel is most important in producing the high drop-out rate; a "2" in the box of the second most important factor; and a "3" in the box for the third most important.

21. How many of your Indian students have a command of the English language adequate for understanding all assigned schoolwork?

All or most	( )
More than half	( )
About half	( )
Less than half	( )
Very few	( )
None	( )

22. How concerned do you think most of the mothers of your Indian students are in seeing that their children get a good education?

very concerned	( )
somewhat concerned	( )
not too concerned	( )

23. Do you think most mothers of your students are too strict or not strict enough with their children? Please explain you answer fully.

24. With about how many of the mothers of your students have you had private conferences this school year? Check in Column A. How about the fathers? Check in Column B.

	A Mothers	B Fathers
All or most	( )	( )
More than half	( )	( )
About half	( )	( )
Less than half	( )	( )
Very few	( )	( )
None	( )	( )

25. Which of the following topics do you discuss in conferences with the parents of your students? Please rank from 1 to 5 in order of frequency of discussion.

	Rank
Student's classwork	( )
Student's vocational plans	( )
Student's college plans	( )
Student's personal problems	( )
Student's discipline problems	( )
Other (Please specify):	
______________________________	( )

26. Would you say that you initiate most conferences with parents or that most of the parents come to you?

Teacher initiates most conferences ( )
Parents initiate most conferences ( )
Initiative about equally divided between parents and teacher ( )

27. With how many parents of your Indian students have you had contact on each of the following types of occasions during this school year? Please indicate with checks in the appropriate columns.

	Most	**Some**	**Few or None**
PTA meetings	( )	( )	( )
School Open House	( )	( )	( )
Social events outside of school	( )	( )	( )
Informal visits to homes	( )	( )	( )
Other (Please specify): ____________________	( )	( )	( )

28. Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable talking with the parents of your students?

Yes ______
No ______

If Yes, please explain why you feel this way.

29. What racial composition do you prefer to work with in school?

An all white school ( )
A mostly white school but with some Indian students ( )
A school that has about half white and half Indian students ( )

A mostly Indian school but with some white students ( )
A school with all Indians ( )
I have no preference. ( )

30. Place a check in Column A to indicate each of the factors that interferes with the teaching and learning of Indian students in your classroom.

	A Interferes	B Interferes Most
Classes are too large	( )	( )
Students are too similar in ability and skills	( )	( )
There is too much student turn-over	( )	( )
Students are too different in ability and skills	( )	( )
The different racial groups do not get along well together	( )	( )
The different blood groups do not get along well together	( )	( )
There is too much faculty turn-over	( )	( )
Low level of intelligence of students	( )	( )
Poor training in basic skills	( )	( )
Poor home environment	( )	( )
Parents attempt to interfere	( )	( )
Too many absences	( )	( )
Students do not speak English adequately	( )	( )
Too much time has to be spent on discipline	( )	( )
Parents pressure students too much to get good grades	( )	( )
Students are not interested in learning	( )	( )
Parents don't take enough interest in their children's school work	( )	( )
Pupils are not well-fed or well-clothed	( )	( )
There is not enough competition for good grades	( )	( )
There is too much competition for good grades	( )	( )

Now, in Column B above write a "1" in the box for the factor which interferes most with teaching and learning in your classroom, a "2" in the box of the second most interfering factor, and a "3" in the box for the third most interfering.

The next three questions are related to the problem of indigenous leadership in Indian communities. In using the term "leaders" we are referring to any position of responsibility or service within a community. For instance, we consider doctors, nurses, educators, social workers, and OEO personnel, as well as tribal officials, to be leaders in their communities.

31. What personal qualities and types of experience do you feel are highly desirable for an Indian student to become a leader in his home community? In Column A check all that apply.

	A **Required**	**B** **Most Important**
Knowledge of native language	( )	( )
High school education	( )	( )
College education	( )	( )
Above average standard of living	( )	( )
Experience outside of Indian community	( )	( )
Popularity among peers	( )	( )
Leadership experience in school activities	( )	( )
Familiarity with Indian problems	( )	( )
Long residence in one community	( )	( )
Understanding of broader American society	( )	( )
Full command of the English language	( )	( )
Other (Please specify): ____________	( )	( )

In Column B check that factor which you feel is most important.

32. What specific types of experiences and opportunities, if any, does the school provide to develop leadership potential among Indian students?

33. Please name three juniors and three seniors whom you feel are most qualified to become community leaders. Please limit your choices to Indian students.

3S°

Juniors	**Seniors**
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________

34. Which group of occupations do you think most Indian boys in your class will enter? In Column A indicate your first, second and third choices.

Which occupations will the girls enter? In Column B indicate your first, second and third choices.

	A Boys	B Girls
Professional, technical and related workers	( )	( )
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	( )	( )
Clerical workers	( )	( )
Sales workers	( )	( )
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	( )	( )
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	( )	( )
Workers in transport and communications	( )	( )
Craftsmen, production workers	( )	( )
Service, sport and recreation workers	( )	( )
Armed forces	( )	( )
Unemployed	( )	( )

35. Please identify specific obstacles which seem to you most likely to prevent high school graduates from attaining the occupational goals for which they would qualify on the basis of ability. Check all that apply in Column A.

	A Frequent Obstacle	B Most Important
Marriage and/or birth of children	( )	( )
Lack of ambition	( )	( )
Parental needs at home	( )	( )
Desire to remain in home community	( )	( )
Laziness	( )	( )
Alcohol problems	( )	( )
Lack of money for further training	( )	( )
Inadequate command of English language	( )	( )
Lack of information about required training	( )	( )
Lack of information about employment opportunities	( )	( )
Employment discrimination against Indians	( )	( )
Poor health	( )	( )
Inability to adjust to employment conditions	( )	( )
Inability to adjust to modern, urban living	( )	( )
Insufficient vocational or technical preparation in high school	( )	( )
Insufficient preparation in academic fields	( )	( )
Other (Please specify):________________________	( )	( )

In Column B check the box next to the factor you feel presents the most frequent obstacle.

36. **What specific additions to staff, curriculum or non-academic activities might improve the preparation of Indian students for:**

a) College study:

b) Employment in urban areas:

c) Local employment (e.g., ranching, fishing, mining):

d) Homemaking:

e) Community leadership:

37. There are two opposing attitudes toward the solution of the existing "Indian problem." One favors self-determination and the continued segregation of Indian communities from White America. The second favors the integration of Indians into the dominant white American culture.

Which of these views coincides most nearly with your own? Please explain your answer fully, considering the implications of each view for policy decisions in the fields of government, education, law, etc.

BACKGROUND DATA

1. Sex: Male ( )
   Female ( )

2. Marital Status: Single ( )
   Married ( )
   Separated ( )
   Divorced ( )
   Widowed ( )

3. Are you: Negro ( )
   Indian ( )
   White ( )
   Other ( ) (specify) ________________

   If Indian, please specify the tribe of which you are a member and your degree of Indian blood: ________________

4. What is your age?
   25 years and under ( )
   26-30 ( )
   31-35 ( )
   36-40 ( )
   41-45 ( )
   46-50 ( )
   51-55 ( )
   56-60 ( )
   61-65 ( )
   66 and over ( )

5. Have you any children between the ages of 5 and 18?
   Yes ______
   No ______

   If Yes, do they attend school in the community in which you teach?
   Yes ______
   No ______

6. Where did you grow up?

   Town or City ________________ State or Country ________________

7. In what kind of residential area did you grow up?

   big city - over 100,000 ( )
   suburb of big city ( )
   city of 10,00-100,000 ( )
   town of less than 10,000 ( )
   on a farm ( )

8. What was your father's principal occupation when you were growing up?

professional ( )
businessman ( )
sales or office worker ( )
skilled worker ( )

factory worker or other semi-skilled worker ( )
unskilled worker ( )
farmer ( )
don't know ( )

9. How far did you parents go in school? Check one box for each parent.

	Father	Mother
no formal education	( )	( )
attended elementary school	( )	( )
completed elementary school	( )	( )
attended high school	( )	( )
completed high school	( )	( )
attended college	( )	( )
completed college	( )	( )
went beyond college	( )	( )
don't know	( )	( )

10. What type of insitution did you attend for most of your undergraduate education?

no formal education beyond high school ( )
two-year junior college ( )
two or three-year normal school ( )

four-year teacher's college ( )
teacher preparation unit of a state college ( )
teacher preparation unit of a university ( )

other unit of a university ( )
liberal arts college (not part of a university) ( )
other (Please specify): ________________ ( )

11. Please check any degrees you have received and write in your major field of study:

Degree		
None	( )	________________
A.A. (junior college or two years of college)	( )	________________
B.A., B.Ed., B.S., etc.	( )	________________
M.A., M.Ed., M.S., M.A.T.	( )	________________
Ed.S. or Sixth year Certificate	( )	________________
Ph.D., Ed.D.	( )	________________
Other (please specify): ________________	( )	________________

12. Have you ever received any special training for teaching Indian children?

Yes ________ pre-service
________ in-service
No ________

If Yes, please answer a) and b)

a) Where was this training given?

____

b) Did this training include any special material for teaching bilingual children?

Yes ________
No ________

13. How many years have you taught:

	Number of years
in this school	________
in other schools with Indians	________
in other schools	________

14. Do you find your present job to be

very rewarding ( )
fairly rewarding ( )
not very rewarding ( )
completely unrewarding ( )

15. Which of these things would you most like to be ten years from now:

a classroom teacher in this school ( )
a classroom teacher elsewhere ( )
  _____ Indian school
  _____ Non-Indian school
  _____ No preference

an Educational specialist ( )
a school administrator ( )
teaching at a college or university ( )

in some field other than education ( )
  what field? ________________
a full time housewife ( )
retired ( )

16. What magazine do you read regularly?

17. What newspaper do you read regularly?

18. How about professional journals, are there any that you read regularly?

Yes ________
No ________

If Yes, which ones?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PATIENCE AND COOPERATION. PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE PRE-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND MAIL IT DIRECTLY TO OUR OFFICE.